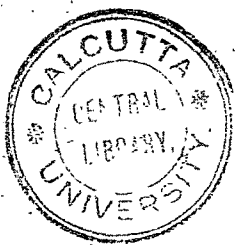


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PUNJAB RECRUITMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST WAR

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R. M. S. LEIGH, O.B.E., I.C.S., is the author of "The Punjab and the War" published in 1922 under the authority of the Punjab Government. Here he has given an account, based on official records, of the different ways in which this province helped the war effort of the British Empire in 1914-1918.

When the last war broke out in August, 1914, there were about 1,00,000 combatants and non-combatants from the Punjab in the army. Between this time and the signing of the Armistice in November, 1918, it put in an additional 380,000 combatants and non-combatants and, in the language of Mr. Leigh, "responded to all calls for men and more men." It further appears that though at the time the Punjab contained only a fourteenth part of the total population of India and comprised about a fourteenth part of its total area, it supplied "about one-third of the Indian recruits, and more than one-third of the total number who served."

So far as the mobilisation of money is concerned, we find that the Punjab contributed more than two crores of rupees to war funds and war charities and also invested ten crores in the two War Loans.

It is only fair to add that in view of the fact that all the provinces of British India were admittedly doing their best, the Punjab had every right to feel proud of its contribution in man power and money.

PUNJABI COMBATANTS IN THE INDIAN ARMY IN JANUARY, 1915

The following figures taken from Mr. M. S. Leigh's "The Punjab the War" give, district by district, the number of soldiers who were in the army on the 1st January, 1915. The statement does not give the number of those drawn into the army from the Punjab States.

It is noteworthy that the Punjab Government has, in many of its official publications, described certain districts of the province as *scarcity* areas. These are as follows: Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Rohtak, Gujrat, Gurgaon, Attock and certain *tahsils* of Amritsar, Hissar, Ambala, Ferozepur, the north-western parts of Gurdaspur and certain *tahsils* of Lahore. As far as these areas are concerned, the official view seems to be that in no time their inhabitants are barely able to keep their heads above water and that any aberration in the climatic conditions immediately exposes the actual want. The present writer has gone a step further and made an attempt to arrange all the Punjab districts in the order of their productiveness and economic prosperity. He admits his responsibility for the partial way in which the 28 districts of the Punjab have been grouped.

<i>District</i>	<i>No. of Combatants on January, 1915</i>
1 Jhelum	8,652
2 Rawalpindi	8,524
3 Rohtak	6,245
4 Ludhiana	5,995
5 Hoshiarpur	5,901
6 Kangra	5,796
7 Amritsar	5,328
8 Gujrat	4,510
9 Jullunder	3,286
10 Hissar	3,046
11 Attock	2,849
12 Shahpur	2,834
13 Sialkot	2,709
14 Gurgaon	2,481
15 Gurdaspur	2,395
16 Ferozepur	2,224
17 Ambala	1,755
18 Gujranwala	1,643
19 Lahore	1,501

<i>District</i>	<i>No. of Combatants on Ist January, 1915</i>	
20 Mianwali	...	1,159
21 Karnal	...	633
22 Lyallpur	...	338
23 Simla	...	217
24 Jhang	...	44
25 Multan	...	39
26 Muzaffargarh	...	18
27 Montgomery	...	14
28 Dera Gazi Khan	...	10
		80,146

When hostilities broke out in August, 1914, the military authorities did not foresee that they would continue for some years and that it would be necessary to send Indian soldiers outside India to the different theatres of war. They did not, therefore, have recourse to any specially vigorous methods to attract large numbers of men into the Indian army. It was only when the gravity of the situation was realised that special efforts were put forth to enlarge the Indian army—a matter dealt with later on.

As the above figures are concerned with a time when the intensive campaign for recruitment, referred to just now, had not been started, they may therefore be taken as giving us a picture of the recruitment of the Punjab under normal conditions. One would expect that, under these circumstances, if the possession of martial spirit is the only deciding factor in recruitment, all the 28 districts would find equal or nearly equal representation taking of course into account the man power of each of them. As a matter of fact, it is not so. What is proved by a scrutiny of the figures which appear above is that some districts contributed very much more than others while the contributions of still others were so small as to be almost negligible.

One obvious explanation of the very wide divergence in the performance of the different districts which suggests itself immediately is that the quantum of martial spirit possessed by the people inhabiting them was variable. This is strange in view of the fact that, in a very large majority of cases, they lived in adjacent areas under almost the same climatic conditions, took the same kind of food, professed the same faiths and, to all intents and purposes, came from the same stock. That this opinion is correct becomes evident when we remember the inter-district exchange of population as also

the fact that the canal colonies have drawn nearly all their inhabitants from the more martial districts. It is significant that mere change of habitation as proved by the recruitment figures, appears to have encouraged the evaporation of the warlike spirit which is supposed to be the special heritage of the Punjabi. It may also be suggested that so far as the influence of loyalty in bringing men to the colours is concerned, it too must have varied from district to district and must, like the martial spirit referred to previously, have, with change of residence, been liable to occultation.

It may, of course, be argued that one reason why some districts sent more men than others was that as, during peace times, the demand for recruits was limited, the recruitment for men was confined to certain districts only which, under these circumstances, contributed larger numbers than others. As against this, it may be urged that when the Punjab was being combed for recruits and when owing to reasons proposed to be dealt with later on, the Punjab had sent in its largest contribution in men, one would expect to find something like parity among its districts always taking into account the number of males of military age available in them. That this was not so will be shown hereafter.

All this at once suggests that there must have been some factor or factors other than the possession of loyalty and a martial spirit which impelled the men of some districts to enlist themselves in their thousands and kept back others belonging to other districts from doing so.

It is maintained that the facts and figures given below which are all taken from Government publications such as the relevant Census Reports, the reports of the Irrigation and the Agriculture departments, etc., show that the economic factor played an important, if not the most important, part in inducing members of even the martial races of the Punjab to enlist themselves as soldiers.

THE SIX UNFERTILE DISTRICTS

It will be noticed that the first six districts, *viz.*, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Rohtak, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Kangra contributed 41,113 that is more than 51 per cent. of the total strength of the Punjabi element in the Indian army.

It is striking that the first two of these districts, Jhelum and Rawalpindi, which contributed the largest number of soldiers did not have any canal irrigation even in 1921.

In the report of the Punjab Agriculture Department, we are told that these two districts "contain much unfertile land" and on page 37 of the Census Report for 1921 ("India Census," Vol. XV, Part I), that even

after the population had been heavily reduced by the influenza epidemic of 1918, "Rawalpindi is far more congested than the province as a whole."

Jhelum specially has to depend even now on rains for good crops—a fact emphasised in the Census Report for 1921 ("Census of India" for 1921, Vol. XV, Part I, p. 82). These facts prove that before the last war had taken a serious turn, poverty drove as many able-bodied men to the army as the military authorities were prepared to enlist.

When, in order to get larger numbers, better pay and prospects were offered, the men, still under the stress of economic necessity, came in their thousands. According to the Government publication on Punjab's war effort, by the end of the war, Rawalpindi had 36,292 men in the army out of a total male population of military age numbering 90,400 and Jhelum 31,881 men in the army out of a total male population of military age numbering 82,300. In other words, the Rawalpindi district sent over 40 per cent. and the Jhelum district about 39 per cent. of the flower of its youth.

If still more convincing proof is required, we have the evidence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer that these soldiers were remitting home every month from £3,000 to £40,000 which, in his language, enabled their relatives who stayed at home "to bear the burden of bad seasons and high prices." This fact is mentioned on page 233 of his memoir, "India As I Knew It."

Mr. H. Calvert, deservedly well-known on account of his studies on the rural economy of the Punjab, in his "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" referring to the economic prosperity brought about by the war in these two districts has said, "Rawalpindi and Jhelum have amassed large sums during the war."

In Rohtak district, the soil is light and sandy and so poor that only 10 per cent. of the cultivable area was under wheat, the balance being used for raising inferior crops. Such canal irrigation facilities as were available after the war sufficed for only 19 per cent. of the matured crops. Canal irrigation was supplemented by irrigation from wells which took care of 8 per cent. of the matured crops. When war broke out, the facilities for canal irrigation were less extensive. The agriculturist of this district had to work like a slave to wrest his living out of the unfertile land he had to cultivate.

The pressure on land was heavy for, whereas the density of population for the whole of Punjab was 40 per square mile, for Rohtak it was 239 per square mile or practically six times the average for the province.

According to the Census Report, in the forty years between 1881 and 1921, population in this district increased by 4 per cent. only. This proves beyond any dispute that the land is incapable of supporting any increase in the population and indirectly that the people are extremely poor. Standing

third in our list, Rohtak by November, 1918, had contributed 28,245 men which was nearly 24 per cent. of its males of military age.

In Ludhiana only 9 per cent. of the crops were under canal irrigation, the main dependence for irrigation being on wells which accounted for 28 per cent. of the matured crops. It has a light sandy soil and is therefore unfit for the cultivation of wheat, the main food crop of the Punjab. In fact, only 27 per cent. of the cultivated area was under this crop. The pressure on land was great as is evident when we consider its unfertility. It was about 340 per square mile, $8\frac{1}{2}$ times the average for the province of the Punjab. The lack of fertility and the miserable condition of the agricultural population resulted in large numbers leaving this district. According to the 1921 Census Report for the Punjab (Vol. XV, Part I, p. 36), in the ten years between 1911 and 1921, this district lost about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of its population. This loss of population by migration has been a permanent feature in the economic life of the district as is proved by the fact that in the 40 years between 1881 and 1921, the district, as a whole, lost 8 per cent. of its population.

With a population of 90,000 males of military age, Ludhiana ultimately sent to the army altogether 23,341 men who formed nearly 26 per cent. of this number.

In Hoshiarpur, only 2 per cent. of the crops were under canal irrigation while 11 per cent. of the matured crops were produced under combined canal and well irrigation. Only 48 per cent. of the total area was under cultivation. In other words, the majority of the land in the district is either so unfertile, or so unfavourably situated, that it was not worth cultivation. This information is supplied by the Agriculture Department of the Punjab.

The Census Report says that large numbers of its inhabitants leave the district for service outside it, the clearest possible proof that it cannot support the population inhabiting it. Another equally significant fact is that poverty here was of such an intense character that the rural population increased by 5 per cent. only in the 40 years between 1881 and 1921. In spite of this, so great was the pressure of the population on the land, that the density per square mile was nearly 400 which is ten times the average for the Punjab.

The total number of men of this district who were in the army just before the last war ended was 21,153 which was nearly 14 per cent. of the males of military age.

Kangra district is so unfertile that only 8 per cent. of the area was under cultivation and the rest amounting to 92 per cent. did not produce any crops at all. There are proofs to show that the resources of the district

are incapable of supporting its inhabitants. The first of these is that the population of this district increased by 5 per cent. only in the four decades between 1881 and 1921, though the density per square mile was so low as 76. The second is that very large numbers of the rural population had, during all these 40 years, left the district in search of service.

When the Armistice was signed, Kangra had 17,113 of its men in the army which was nearly 14 per cent. of its males of military age.

A reference to the reports of the Agriculture Department of the Punjab will show that the cultivated holdings in these six districts, specially those situated in the hilly regions, are almost universally small in area so that even after all the claims of cultivation have been met, there are large numbers of stalwart men who have not much to do. These, on account of industrial backwardness and illiteracy, cannot be absorbed into gainful occupations. They are therefore compelled to utilise their only asset, physical strength and efficiency, to earn their living.

The only conclusion one can draw from all these facts is that life for the agriculturists of these six districts being very hard, enlistment in the army provided a living for these hungry, able-bodied men whom the land could not possibly support. In a sense, the war was a god-send for it enabled them to send money in sufficiently large amounts to make life more comfortable for their relatives and dependents.

Another important factor which encouraged recruitment was the lack of domestic ties. A glance at the relevant Census Report will show that the shortage of women was, and is, most marked in such districts of this group as Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Kangra and Hoshiarpur.

THE AUTHORITARIAN ELEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING

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THINKING minds among the people of the United Nations are now busy in shaping the grand design of the post-war world. The outlines of this pattern are as yet dim and indistinct. But it is certain that one of the basic principles on which the New World order is likely to be set up will be collaboration between nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved living standards, economic adjustments and social security. It is now widely recognised that the social objective on which attention should be fixed is the raising of the standard of life of the people as a whole. In November, 1940, in his speech at Cardiff, Mr. Amery observed—"I want to raise the conception of the standard of living in the East. If you do not do that you cannot get an equilibrium in the West." In April, 1942, speaking from an entirely different point of view, Mr. Bevin, the British Minister of Labour and National Service, emphasised the need for raising the standard of living of the common people. "This is a peoples' war," he said, "it is not a rich man's war. . . . If the objective that you want to reach is clear, namely, the raising of the standard of life of the people as a whole then everyone gains in the ultimate solution and human relationship is enhanced in the process of finding it." It has also been announced that the Government of India have set up a Committee on Social Security for furthering the post-war reconstruction plans in India. It is, therefore, worthwhile drawing attention to some of the governing factors in the determination of the standard of life. In particular, the part played by the state in maintaining or raising the standard demands more than a passing notice from all thinking minds in this land.

In 1938, Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, drew forceful attention to some aspects of this problem as it affects India. He said that in a country where population was increasing at the rate of thirty to forty millions every decade it was imperative that the standard of life should be raised both with a view to obviating the present misery and to ease the pressure of population on India's

resources. Fundamentally, there are three ways by which an improvement in this standard can be brought about: increased production, exchange of goods to mutual advantage and, lastly, by improving the distribution of income so as to cause a larger proportion of national income to reach the poorer section of the community. In the main the standard of living in India must depend on increased production in the domains of both industry and agriculture. That there is considerable leeway to be made up in industrial production needs no emphasis. In an estimate made a few years ago in the U.S.A. it was shown that the average per capita motive power in terms of steam, oil or gas or water available to an Indian citizen was 0.47 horse-power hours as compared to 13.38 h.p. hours in the U.S.A. and 6.65 hours in the U. K. Similar wide disparities will be revealed on a comparison of the capital employed in industries per head of the working population in these countries. There are also equally strong reasons for believing that even in agriculture, the age-long occupation of the bulk of the people of this country, there is extensive scope for improvement. Competent authorities assert that with the use of improved fertilisers, better rotation of crops, prevention of soil erosion, it is possible to increase agricultural output by at least 25%. We have hardly utilised the resources which Science has already placed at our disposal. Probably in no country is this gap between existing knowledge and its application so great as in India. There is a tendency in some quarters, particularly at the present time when problems of reconstruction loom large, to set the claims of agriculture and of industry in opposition to each other. It has been argued, for instance, that an improvement in agriculture is essential to any further improvement in industry. Until the peasant is in a position to buy the products of factory there is not much prospect of any great increase in industrial output. It is, therefore, contended that what India needs to-day is an increased emphasis on agricultural production rather than pre-occupation with problems of industrialisation. It is also asserted that agriculture by its very existence creates a mass of 'secondary' employment—transport services, distributive services and a number of accessory industries. This attempt to set the claims of agriculture against industry is as mischievous as it is fallacious. In a country where owing to seasonal nature of agricultural occupation the bulk of the agriculturists have to remain idle for a considerable portion of the year this over-emphasis on agricultural occupation will strike even a layman as a conspicuous example of admixture of unsound economics and faulty logic. It is difficult to understand why agriculture alone should be credited with this virtue of creating secondary occupa-

tions. The whole concept of the 'multiplier' which now forms the staple of discussion among academic economists, rests on the basis that it is investment, no matter whether made in agriculture or in manufactures, which sets in motion a series of forces resulting in a net increase of employment. The fact has to be realised, that the wealth of the country, however divided, is insufficient even for a low standard of life and there is nothing as yet to show that production will be greater in the future unless determined action is taken by the state. The prime need for India to-day is a rate of investment large enough and regular enough to keep in a state of employment the hitherto unutilised resources and the maintenance of the highest possible level of productivity whether it be in agriculture or manufactures, in plantations or in mining.

Apart from increased production it is possible to raise living standards by increased exchange of goods and services. Although the aggregate value of India's foreign trade is substantial, yet the *per capita* figure is comparatively small. In terms of the aggregate value of foreign trade India ranks eighth or ninth among the countries of the world.¹ But the value of foreign trade per head places India very low in the scale. These considerations suggest that there are large unexplored possibilities of raising the standard of life by means of foreign trade. There is a tendency in recent times to belittle the importance of foreign trade as an instrument of economic welfare. Between 1913-29 the volume of world trade rose by about 30%. But the world-wide depression that intervened in 1929 had serious contractionist effect on commerce, and in spite of some measure of recovery during 1933-37 foreign trade never reached the level it had attained during the pre-depression years.² Exponents of self-sufficiency, therefore, assert that as multilateralism is dead there will hardly be much scope for the expansion of world trade in the future. Besides, it is argued that this is the ersatz age, the era of synthetics. Technological progress has lessened the need and importance of foreign trade. Such a view of foreign trade, however, ignores the operation of those deep-seated causes on which international specialisation and division of labour depend. While it is true that technological progress has assisted in the development of manufactures in countries that have hitherto been predominantly agricultural, with the result of narrowing the gap between comparative advantage, the broad fact remains that there is yet room for "specialisation between the simple and the complex, the low grade and

¹ Butler, *Industry in the East*, p. 8.

² *The Network of World Trade* (L.O.N.), p. 73.

the high, the goods for consumption and the machine that makes the goods."¹ There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that international trade will cease to play a predominant part in the future.

It is, however, necessary to realise that though foreign trade must be given its due place in the national economy, it is not always possible to ignore the operation of those limiting factors which might necessitate the imposition of restriction on the freedom of trade in the interest of stability, 'balance' or safety. The growing complexity of the food problem in many of the provinces of British India to-day suggests a train of thought which is relevant in this connection. At the Crop Planning Conference held in Simla in June, 1934, the proposal was mooted that certain provinces, including Bengal, which were deficit areas in the matter of rice production should stimulate the production of rice in the interest of self-sufficiency. It was urged in reply to this view that if Bengal attempted to become self-sufficient in regard to rice production and kept out Burma rice, Bengal would not be in a position to sell its jute to Burma. No less a person than Sir Frank Noyce said "May I interrupt Mr. Mukherji? I should like to ask him how he expects Burma to take Bengal jute to the value of Rs. 117 lakhs per annum unless they export some rice to pay for the jute." This crude "imports-pay-for-exports" theory, the view that there is always a bilateral balance of trade between two countries was put forward as a serious contribution to economic thinking and a solution of the problem of crop planning in India. It is, however, refreshing to find that the official delegate from Bengal to the Crop Planning Conference was in a position to give a fitting reply to Sir Frank Noyce. He said "I am a nationalist first and an internationalist later. . . . I do think that in my self-interest the production of my essential food crop should not be so restrained that in time of distress or in time of want I should have to look to somewhere else or let my people go with empty stomachs, specially when I have been favourably endowed by Providence with suitable land, with suitable capacity, with suitable varieties."²

The third method open to us to improve living standards is to bring about an improvement in the distribution of the national income so as to cause a greater proportion of that income to be made available to the lower income groups. It is in this sphere that there is considerable room in this country for the exercise of that authoritarian influence which has proved to be one of the most powerful instruments in raising the standard of life in the West. The latest manifestation of this need for authoritative

¹ *Economic Journal*, 1938, p. 13.

² *Proceedings of the Indian Crop Planning Conference*, 1934, p. 26.

intervention is found in the Beveridge plan of social security formulated for the purpose of guaranteeing security of incomes up to a minimum level. It is noteworthy that one of the fundamental principles on which the Beveridge plan rests is that the abolition of want cannot be brought about merely by increasing production, by raising the stock of goods available for distribution. The plan, as Beveridge puts it, is a method of redistributing income so as to put the first and most urgent needs first, so as to make the best possible use of whatever resources may be available.¹ It is by the development of socially provided incomes such as medical attention, sickness benefit, unemployment benefit, construction of subsidised houses for the benefit of the poor that a large part of the national income has by an indirect method, *viz.*, via taxation and public expenditure, been made available to the poor in Great Britain. The extent to which such services can be developed must largely be decided by the general economic position of the country concerned. But the fact cannot be denied that communally provided incomes form a very substantial portion of the total income of persons who belong to the working classes in Great Britain.

In the 19th century the problem of the standard of living of the average Britisher, his relative poverty or affluence was a purely personal one. The wages received, the provision made for old age, sickness and temporary unemployment were matters for the individual rather than for the state. Barring some provision for poor relief, which was available only when a man was faced with starvation, there was hardly any responsibility on the part of the state. Opinion, however, changed towards the close of the nineteenth century. Step by step the state was forced to abandon its position of detachment and take upon itself an increasing number of duties and responsibilities. The state fixed the wages of a large number of workers through the instrumentality of statutory bodies, made itself responsible for affording relief to workers for loss of income due to sickness, old age and unemployment. The construction of houses was undertaken by public authorities, rent was subsidised and education of different types provided to children of the poorer classes. As these social services developed, it became clear that the standard of living of the poorer sections of the community did not depend entirely on the individual's energy, enterprise, foresight or thrift; for the state had very largely relieved the individual of the task of looking after himself. In fact, the state had assumed the rôle of the supreme paymaster to whom was the most natural thing to look for support. There are many in

¹ *Economist*, December, 1942, p. 689.

the country who decry the tendency of the Indian ryot to lean on Government for support in times of emergencies. It is urged that the tiller of the soil in India is apt to regard the Government as the 'ma-bap' or as the provider of all the amenities of life. But these detractors obviously forget that the idea that the British citizen looks after himself in the important crises of life is a relic of mid-Victorian days and is now more a tradition than an actual fact.

The development of social services in Great Britain was stimulated to a great extent by the European War, 1914-18. The upheavals of the War period created a demand for social services that had not existed before. Besides, the high level to which taxation had attained during the War demonstrated that it was possible to raise more revenue than would previously have been thought possible. After the War of 1914-18 there was a substantial increase of British expenditure on items other than debt and defence. Economic assistance to lower income groups more than doubled in proportion to national income during 1913-29. This increased expenditure on social services was financed to an increasing extent by the process of 'squeezing' the rich. Direct taxes, such as Income Tax, Super-Tax and Estate Duty, etc., were screwed up steadily, while amenities were provided for the benefit of the poor out of funds thus raised from the comparatively affluent sections of the community. A few figures may be given to illustrate to what extent redistribution of income has been carried out through the machinery of taxation and public expenditure.

In 1890 the proportion of national revenue raised by indirect taxation was 72%. In 1913 the proportion had fallen to 47.8% while in 1932-33 it had dwindled still further to 39.8%. A rough idea of the change in income distribution may be obtained from the following Table which shows the incidence of direct and indirect taxation on different income groups during 1903-1942 :—

TABLE I
*Proportion of Direct and Indirect Taxation on Selected
Incomes, 1903-1942*

Income	1903-04	1923-24	1937-38	1941-42
£ 100	5.6	14.1	10.4	19.1
£ 500	5.3	8.0	5.6	18.4
£ 10,000	5.0	37.1	39.1	68.3
£ 50,000	4.8	48.0	56.7	90.7

In interpreting this Table it must be remembered that so far as the lowest income group is concerned, its contribution to public revenue is solely by means of indirect taxes such as those on beer, tobacco, tea and sugar. The burden of indirect taxation on upper income groups on the other hand is comparatively small. While the contributions of the rich in the shape of direct taxes have increased more than in proportion to their income, the benefit of such taxation has accrued largely to the wage-earning classes. For, roughly speaking, we may identify the wage-earning classes with those who get direct benefit out of the social services. It is interesting to note that the ratio of expenditure on social services to the total amount paid out in wages steadily increased during 1880-1930 from 3.4% to 18%.¹

The process that has been going on in Great Britain is based on the recognition of the idea of corporate responsibility for individual disasters. The development can very well be described as socialisation of incomes or nationalisation of certain important consumers' goods and services and the removal from the family budget to the national budget of certain items of expenditure regarded as essential for the maintenance of decent human standards. The authoritarian element is thus the dominant factor in raising the standard of life of the poorer sections of the community.

In India it is premature to expect the inauguration of these social services in their entirety. As has already been pointed out their adoption must largely depend on the state of economic development attained by a country. Schemes of social welfare which act as a stimulus to economic progress in some countries may produce a reverse effect in lands less developed, socially and economically. Besides, the measures adopted for financing these schemes must not be such as to exercise a repressive effect on industry and enterprise. But the giddy heights to which taxation has attained during the present time, coupled with currency inflation, has demonstrated the truth of the remark that finance is no longer the dominant element in national economy, but a mere camp-follower of more tangible realities. Financial difficulty used to be trotted out as an insuperable bar to the inauguration of all schemes for ameliorating the condition of the poor. These objections have now lost much of their validity. What is needed in India to-day is the realisation of the importance of authoritarian intervention as an instrument of great potency for bringing about the economic betterment of the working classes.

¹ The total expenditure on social services during 1940-41 was £507,756,000. This expenditure was met out of taxes and rates and also contributions by persons benefiting in the case of contributory schemes. The receipts from taxes during the same year were £1495.3m.

(*Economist*, April 10, 1943.)

We may now proceed to consider broadly the manner in which state intervention has already tended to modify the distribution of incomes in this country. The operation of these forces may be divided into two categories, legislative and financial. In the first category may be placed those instances of legislative intervention on the part of the state which have altered the distribution of incomes in favour of the working classes, rural and urban. In the second category we may include the general tax-structure and the scheme of public expenditure, which if the Government so desire, may be utilised to bring about a better and a more equitable distribution of incomes. Owing to the imperfect working of the competitive system, it is often necessary on the part of the State to intervene in the interest of the poorer sections of the people who have no bargaining strength. The object of legislative intervention in such cases is to remove those frictional forces which prevent the free and unfettered working of the process of competition that determines the share of the national income accruing to the different sections of the community. The establishment of regulated markets, the standardisation of weights and measures, the passing of the Payment of Wages Act are outstanding examples of authoritative intervention of which the object is to ensure competitive bargaining between buyers and sellers, workers and employers on an equal plane. Apart from instances of this kind there are circumstances which might justify the State in reopening a contract with a view to modifying the terms and conditions already agreed upon between the parties. Here, again, the object is to give to the lower income groups a large slice of the national wealth than they would otherwise have obtained for themselves. Laws passed with a view to affording relief to agricultural debtors, such as the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, debt conciliation measures, Relief of Indebtedness Act—these and similar other measures fall within this category. Lastly, state intervention may take the more drastic form of laying down the terms and conditions within the framework of which contracts regarding certain commodities and services must be entered into. The fixing of minimum prices for sugarcane, maximum rates of interest for capital borrowed, maximum rents for lands taken on lease, the maximum *selami* payable to landlords on land transfers are some of the instances in which the state has used its authority with a view to equalising the plane of competition. These instances are not divisible into separate compartments from the logical point of view. But they bring out the fundamental fact that in India legislative intervention has been an important factor in the aggregate of those forces that determine the distribution of income and that the effect of intervention has on the whole been to cause a diversion of the national income from the rich to the poor.

When, however, we come to study the schemes of taxation and public expenditure the picture that emerges is entirely of a different kind. For their outcome has been to place a comparatively heavy burden on the poor. Not only has the tax structure been grossly regressive which has thus tipped the scale against the poor, but the absence of redistributive public expenditure of the kind that mitigates inequality of incomes in Great Britain has been a serious blot on our financial system. The nearest approach in India to the expenditure on social services is found in those items of public expenditure which may be described as developmental as distinguished from protective. As examples of the former mention may be made of expenditure on education, medical aid, improvement of public health and agriculture and development of industries. These items of expenditure bear a general resemblance to social service expenditure in so far as they have alike a tendency to build up human capital and yield in the long run a large return in productive power. The comparatively meagre allotment made in our Provincial budgets for these activities has always been a conspicuous feature of our public expenditure.

In 1883 taxes on consumption paid predominantly by the poor furnished 28% of the total tax revenue in India. In 1923 the proportion went up to 46 p. c. On top of this, transaction taxes, fees and death duties furnished another 10 p. c. When we remember that death duties in India are yet in an undeveloped state and are levied in the form of a small mutation fee, it is not difficult to understand why, in the aggregate, transaction taxes, fees and death duties should be regarded as contributions made mainly by the lower income groups. It is true that the contribution from income tax rose during this period from 1 p. c. to a little over 12 p. c. But even when due allowance is made for the relatively increased importance of this source, it was not sufficient to counteract the regressive effect of the tax system as a whole.

During 1921-22 to 1935-36 developmental expenditure charged against revenue increased from Rs. 15 crores to a little more than Rs. 20 crores as the following Table will show :—

TABLE II *

Year	Developmental expenditure	Provincial expenditure	Percentage of Developmental expenditure to Provincial expenditure
1921-22	Rs. 15 crores	Rs. 79 crores	19
1926-27	Rs. 18 crores	Rs. 90 crores	20
1935-36	Rs. 20 crores	Rs. 89 crores	22.5

*The figures are approximate.

In 1921-22 such expenditure formed 19 p. c. of the total provincial expenditure. In 1935-36 the proportion increased to 22.5 p. c. This was, certainly a move in the right direction. But the effect of this beneficent move in the domain of public expenditure was counteracted by the increased contributions which the revenue system of the country realised from the lower income groups. This will be evident from a comparison of the yield from income tax with that from customs, salt, excise and stamps during 1921-22 to 1935-36.

TABLE III *

1 Year	2 Central and Provincial Revenue	3 Yield from Income Tax	4 Yield from Customs, Salt, Excise and Stamps	5 Percentage of 3 to 2	6 Percentage of 4 to 2
1921-22	Rs. 186 crores	Rs. 22 crores	Rs. 69 crores	11	36
1926-27	218 ..	16 ..	87 ..	7	39
1935-36	210 ..	17 ..	90 ..	8	42

* The figures are approximate.

Thus while the contributions made by the income tax paying class fell from 11 to 8 p. c. of the total Central and Provincial Revenues, the receipts from taxes on consumption and those on transactions, contributed predominantly by the poor, rose from 36 p. c. to 42 p. c. A word of explanation is necessary as to the justification of regarding customs duties as contributions made principally by lower income groups. The duties on imports levied in India may be divided into three classes, *e. g.*, those on articles of general consumption, secondly, on capital goods and raw materials and lastly, those on luxury goods. Duties levied on the first two classes of goods which have a tendency to press heavily on the poor contributed more than 58% of the total yield of customs duties in 1935-36. Articles of general consumption include, among other things, cotton piece-goods, salt, betel-nuts, kerosene oil and drugs, while in the capital goods and raw materials category such articles as machinery, implements, petrol, yarn are included. There can hardly be any doubt that taxes on producers' goods do leave some mark upon the consumers' budget. When, for instance, a working class man rides in a bus the various charges which are levied on the bus-owner are passed on to the consumer in the shape of enhanced passenger fares. Among these charges on the owner are included the customs duty on the importation of bus, petrol,

lubricating oil, spare and repair parts. In fact most taxes on producers' goods and raw materials are shifted to consumers in a measurable degree.¹

Since the outbreak of the war in 1939 the trend of development in India as described above has been arrested to a great extent. The inequitable character of the distribution of the tax burden has been partially remedied. The increase of income tax including the corporation tax and the levy of the excess profits duty have brought about a more equitable distribution of the burden. But it is not possible to say at this stage to what extent these features will be retained after the war. Even if they prove permanent, the broad fact remains that in the absence of redistributive expenditure, mere increase in tax burden, even if it is equitably assessed, will have little or no effect in bringing about an improvement in the standard of living of the poor. Besides, it must not be forgotten that decisive factor in income distribution in India during the present war has been currency inflation which is really disguised taxation of the most insidious and inequitable type. The position in India affords a striking contrast to that in the United Kingdom where not only has currency inflation been kept severely under restraint, but indirect taxes such as customs, excise, stamps and motor duties have been relegated to a position of subordinate importance as a source of revenue. This will be borne out by the following Table which compares the contributions of direct taxes (income tax, surtax, Estate Duties, National Defence Contributions) with those of indirect taxes in the United Kingdom during 1913-14 to 1942-43 :—

TABLE IV *

Year	Direct £ millions	% of total revenue	Indirect £ millions	% of total revenue
1913-14	78.9	47.8	85	52.2
1929-30	376.9	55.6	300	44.4
1937-38	447.1	53.2	394.1	46.8
1938-39	499.3	55.6	397.1	44.4
1939-40	565.8	55.6	451.2	44.4
1940-41	778.0	57.3	580.7	42.7
1941-42	1205.5	61.4	756.5	38.6
1942-43	1553.9	62.5	933.2	37.5

* *Economist*, 10, 1943, p. 455.

¹ Compare Shirras and Rostas, *The Burden of British Taxation*, Ch. XII, on Motor Vehicle Duties and Fuel Duties. Also *Report on Incidence of Taxation in Ceylon*, by Dr. B. B. Dasgupta, pp. 20-21.

We are now in a position to obtain a complete picture as it emerges from a study of the two important sectors of governmental activity in this country, legislative and financial. We have seen that though the former has mitigated the inequality in the distribution of income to some extent, its effect has been counteracted by the influence of the latter which has perpetuated if not aggravated this inequality. In fact it may be argued that the two sectors have been at cross purposes with each other for years past. It is not possible to assess quantitatively the effect of the first set of forces and to balance its outcome against that of the second. But there can hardly be any doubt that while the consequence of legislative intervention on income distribution is partial, hesitating and dependent in most cases on the ability of the working classes, rural and urban, to take advantage of the provisions of the law, that of governmental action in the domain of public finance is all-pervasive, steady and inescapable. Thus it may be maintained that the modifications in income distribution brought about by taxation and expenditure have proved more far-reaching than the efforts of the government in the legislative sphere.

It will thus appear that it has not hitherto been found possible to take a comprehensive view of the problem of raising living standards in this country and that there has been an absence of what may be called "purposive direction." Piecemeal measures have no doubt been adopted from time to time for the protection of the working classes. Such measures, as we have seen, have usually formed part either of labour legislation or agrarian reform. But the forces unleashed by the present war have shifted the centre of gravity from this type of governmental activity to social security programme of which the scope, character and purpose are entirely different. While the object of labour legislation is to ensure the working of the competitive process within the system of private enterprise, that of social security programme is to supersede competition as a regulative force in some spheres of activity and to guarantee a national minimum to all. Social security programmes emphasise the right to fair play, the right to adequate food, shelter, clothing and medical care, the right to security with freedom from fear of old age, want and the right to education. Hit or miss methods hitherto relied on for the protection of the weak and the helpless are now about to be discarded in the West. Measures of an international character for raising living standards are being devised simultaneously with the preparation of blue prints for social security in the national sphere. The time seems opportune for a modest beginning to be made in India in this direction. The improvement in the well-being of four hundred millions of human beings is not only a necessary condition for the restoration of equilibrium in the West but also for effective international co-operation.

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PUSHKIN *

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PUSHKIN we know as a dim, authentic figure, the dimness being due to our own misted glass of ignorance, and not to any lack of creative definiteness in the work and personality of Russia's great poet. But here, sadly the dimness might persist, because in literature, translations or interpretations seldom remove the barriers which only direct contact with the originals can dissolve. There are other reasons also: we can never quite know from what natural but extraneous political and other impulses, interpretations of an author, accepted as being nationally representative, might proceed. The literary outsider is, therefore, compelled to suspend his judgment, take things on trust, and while admiring or occasionally dissenting fail to make that eager surrender which great works of art induce.

In the case of Pushkin, our difficulties are intricate because of the far from "Innocent Eye" with which Russian literature, old and new, has been observed or described by modern non-Russian Europeans. This inadequacy, again, has been sought to be counteracted by candid critics, who had to overstress Pushkin's claims in order to put politically prejudiced opponents in the wrong. Appreciation was made no easier to us by a fairly recent set-back when Pushkin's *historical* rather than *intrinsic* values were harshly analysed, revealing feudalism, Byronic revolutionism, dalliance with social and political principles and other factors which undoubtedly affected Pushkin's life and work, but were so often transcended. The Pushkin who sported his nobility, indulged in Knight-errantry in Crimea with consequent unchivalrous lapses, who played into the hands of the tsar against his own better judgment, who wrote the unbelievably sordid "Gavrillada" which not even a decent hack-writer should have written, and who died fighting a duel under strange circumstances, need not detain us long. The historical and personal shell, where it was merely temporal, has been destroyed by time; the lover of men, the ardent champion of freedom, the exile who never really banished his own ideals, and supremely, the poet who expressed the deeper heart of his people and almost gave them a new literary language,

¹ A Collection of Articles and Essays on the Great Russian Poet (Published by the U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural Relations, Moscow).

has still to be explained. To have done so much inspite of an uneven personal life, all within the brief span of thirty-seven years, is to have earned a right to permanent recognition which the closest literary scrutiny would but deepen and enhance. Soviet Russian critics, we rejoice to find, never for once made the mistake of judging his genius by a catalogue of negations, they accepted him for genuine achievements where the great and representative writer rose to his own level. And this beautifully produced volume, a fine result of the recent Pushkin Centenary, gives us an insight into the real Pushkin.

The impression produced on our minds is that of a poet and dramatist—with some fine stories to his credit—who preserved an inward innocence, a feeling for the soil, and a genius for lucid expression: qualities which have endeared him to generations of his countrymen. Pushkin may not reach the great Elizabethan with whom he has been rashly compared; nor does his vision range as far and deep as Tolstoy's; he lacks the cosmic vigour with which Dostoevsky peopled his world, revealing the forces of nature and of humanity; but in his own field of selection and assimilation, and in his lyrical poetry, Pushkin's integrity is unique. If *Eugene Onegin* is sometimes suggestive of the poetical English lord,¹ it also runs parallel to Byron's genuine revolutionary ardour which an attitudinising bent could never dissipate. Pushkin, indeed, rises to far greater heights than Byron in his sense of human justice and fellowship without which the spirit of rebellion remains a cult; at best a literary or personal revolutionism, not the super-personal creative urge which shapes a great poem or a civilisation. The later parts of *Eugene Onegin*, a poem which Pushkin intermittently wrote during the years 1823-31, naturally reflected his maturer mind and vastly extended resources of literary technique. Being an original genius, he was more sensitive to external influences; he borrowed with magnanimity ideas and forms which he increasingly made his own. This applies to his capacity to draw upon Russian predecessors but even more so to the many contacts which he had made with authors, past and contemporaneous, in the greater continent of European literature.

There was another and more unmistakable cause for the very different levels reached by Pushkin in his most famous work, *Eugene Onegin*. As

¹ This point is reiterated in this volume, but some of the articles leave an uneasy sense that by denying Byronism in Pushkin, or sometimes by professing to take the old continental evaluation of the poetic hero, modern apologists fail to clarify the literary issue. Pushkin's own straight forward admission of influence and his later and mature self-criticism are very much more decisive. In the most brilliant essay contained in this volume, Prof. I. Luppel quotes Pushkin's own words:—

"Byron," wrote Pushkin in 1827, "conceived and loved only one character. . . . Byron took a one-sided view of the world and human nature, then turned away from them and immersed into his own self."

A. Guerstin puts it in his analytical article, "Pushkin was about 24 years old when he conceived and began to write his novel in verse. The great poet went through much during the years when he was working on *Eugene Onegin*. A dividing line was the Decembrist rebellion of December 14, 1825, which was suppressed by the fire of the Tsar's guns. With the change in Pushkin's world outlook came a change in the general tone and mood of his work. The first chapters of *Eugene Onegin*, as Pushkin himself admitted, 'bear the stamp of the gaiety characteristic of the first works of the author of *Ruslan and Ludmila*.' But the novel ends with sad and mournful lines lamenting a life that has been lived out."

The inward development of Pushkin's life, as revealed in this dramatic work,¹ is impressive, and we must seek there, rather than in any idealised version of his political theory or practice, for his real self. The part played by Pushkin in the Decembrist rebellion or by his vacillating utterances, will baffle our historical mind. But surely the imagination can visualise a poetic temperament, not yet grounded in profound convictions, caught in cross-tides of violent circumstance, adrift and yet borne by genuine impulses! We see a lover of men and a patriot who, at the same time, may not have had the iron in his moral soul, that resoluteness which a cataclysmic test might demand. This picture may not be acceptable to all, but would seem truer, to many who revere him, than the portrait which is offered to-day. To accept Pushkin is not to read into his works a syllogistic consistency which ran counter to the logic of his life. Let the human tale be accepted, neither glossed over, nor black-washed, and we have a Pushkin whom we begin to understand and, therefore, love. The articles in this volume, being tributes rather than critical contributions, throw little light on the imaginative mind of the Pushkin who wrote *Eugene Onegin*. Guerstin's article makes no attempt to present a coherent picture to the outside reader—the reader who must feel humble and even guilty for not being able to approach Pushkin in the original—but we have occasional glimpses, from the extracts given in this volume, into the simple and non-melodramatic aspect of this uneven narrative.

We must, however, supplement this volume; and find out that Pushkin, in his great play, had the genius to outgrow his historical

¹ Easily the best translation of *Eugene Onegin* is the one done by Ohver Elton; published by the Pushkin Press (7s. 6d), which gives a close rendering of the original. Reviewing that book in *Life and Letters To-day* (November, 1939) H. W. Nevins on commented upon the "amazing patience and skill of the translator." Nevins on went on to give some idea of the sheer technical difficulties involved, "Pushkin's famous poem is written in about 400 sonnets, all in an unusual and very difficult form, differing from the Shakespearian and the Miltonic. . . . a stupendous task, all the more difficult owing to the comparative scarcity of the double or feminine rhyme in our language. . . . One is . . . reminded of 'Don Juan' but here the stanzas are longer and the rhyming more complicated. Most of the stanzas end . . . in a couplet usually containing an ironical sort of epigram, with a deliberate touch of bathos."

limitations—the narrower “time-spirit” which is never a poet’s climate—and that, even between one compromise and another, he rebelled and satirised in *Eugene Onegin* and in other poems rather in the manner of Swift, but with lesser consistency.

Put in a brief journalistic summary, in the words of H. W. Nevinson, *Eugene Onegin* is a “tale of two friends who fall in love with two beautiful sisters”; one of the friends, unhappily, shows intemperance with the other friend’s choice, “so that a duel is arranged and the main hero shoots his friend dead, wanders into various regions, and returns to find the main heroine married for two years to a military Prince after heart-rending regrets, while her sister, after far less regret, has married a dashing Hussar.” As Nevinson points out, however, “the poem should not be read for the story, but for its brilliant pictures of old aristocratic life under the Tsars—the routs, the balls, the eating and drinking, the country mansions, the long sleigh drives through snow with eighteen horses to carry the nobleman and his retinue.” “I think,” continues Nevinson, “there is only one reference throughout to the peasants who were the source of all this wealth and gaiety. Most interesting of all to myself are the exact descriptions of autumn and winter upon the wide Russian plains . . . here and there we find a kind of epigram worth remembering:

‘Heaven’s gift is habit; let us bless
That substitute for happiness.’”

Nevinson’s remarks give us a clue to the “nature poetry” of Pushkin—the poetry of Russian landscape, in which there mingled, in the later poems of the great lyricist, a sense of basic humanity. But judging from a brief experience of Pushkin’s *Boris Godunov*¹ which the present writer had in Moscow, in 1930, during his first visit to the capital of the new civilisation, some of the words of Nevinson quoted above have a further suggestive value. The panorama of old Russia revealed on the stage was colourful and expository in the obvious sense; *Boris Godunov* never

¹ In the admirable book “*A Guide to Russian Literature*,” by M. J. Olgin (Jonathan Cape, London), the central theme of *Boris Godunov* is given thus:—

“The first historical drama of a realistic nature in Russian literature. The main figure is the Thar Boris Godunov (1605) ascending the throne over the dead body of the legitimate heir whom he caused to be murdered. Godunov’s tragedy is the discrepancy between outward happiness and inner consciousness of guilt.”

The play, from a literary view-point, is not a major creation. As Prof. Mirsky says in his brilliant essay on Pushkin, “B. G. must be regarded as one of the immature and preparatory works of Pushkin, less mature and less perfect than much that had preceded it, than *The Gipsies*, for instance, or the early chapters of *Onegin*” [page 123, *A History of Russian Literature to 1881* by Prince D. S. Mirsky (Routledge)].

The articles printed in the Centenary volume do not, however, admit this. The play is held up as a great drama and is given uncritical praise.

seems to have had the critical awareness with regard to olden times which is associated with our modern attitude. Pushkin had certainly a loathing for the excesses committed by the aristocracy, and his humanity drew him, naturally enough, to the deep heart of the common folk. But he also loved portraying for its own sake the gilded age, the feudal romance and accoutrement, the high-light melodrama of tinted lives. There he was an artist who awakened our conscience by an almost unpremeditated revelation not only of a cruel history, but of the deeper problems which operated behind the processional event. He reflected an objective panorama, rich with story and character, even as Shakespeare did in his historical play, but without Shakespeare's greater implied vision. Pushkin's play served, as it were, incidentally to turn our minds towards essentials. Our modern mind reacts in a new way to purple incidents; the surfeit of tsarist Russianism which he presents before us is enough to make us demand the greater human drama, of everyday life and of simple folk which hardly appears on the stage. This might be described as the paradoxical use, not uncommon in literature, which different ages make of writings written in differing contexts; Pushkin, for example, may yet be reincarnated in special literary revivals, in forms unintended in his writings. With delicate changes in theatrical producing, *Boris Godunov* could be made, and is sometimes made, to serve a new critical purpose. Our poet Rabindranath Tagore, who was watching the play in Moscow was greatly interested in the strange backward and historical show of a lurid Russia: the pomp and ceremonial, the rich robes and jewelled behaviour, the high falutin' style of dress and deportment, the arrogant splendour of court life, the usual entanglements which yet appeared in unfamiliar historical setting intrigued his imagination. But how wonderful he said softly, that this was a vanished Russia! His reaction was undoubtedly due to something suggested by a suppressed mournfulness in Pushkin's own writing, and to the great musical accompaniment of Mussorgsky. There was also the inevitable relief which comes from the spectacle of barbaric majesty and sufferings which are suddenly realised as having been seen from a distance. But, Rabindranath added later on, the feeling that he was then living in a land where everything was new and vital, that even as he watched the play, the greater drama of humanity was being enacted in the lives of the multitudes outside was never absent from his mind. The reaction he had from the play was partly the result of a new contrast. Indeed, as the poet observed, the stage itself had been arranged with great subtlety, to suggest this contrast the producer had managed to induce a feeling of disparity not only by artistically contrived *decor*, with ultra-modern lights and linear setting.

but by deliberately introduced changes in speech and emphasis which excited our interest while making us reject a great deal of the play. The *Boris Godunov* which we saw, and which is discussed in this volume, seems to be a drama for which Pushkin himself was only partly responsible. The authorship, in a way, is predominantly modern, and so are some of the implications of the drama that we seem to accept as having been inherently there.

In reading this collection of articles, an interesting problem of literature, which has not yet been given full attention, is forced to our consciousness.

We have left ourselves no room for any discussion of Pushkin's lyrical poetry in which, by all evidence, he reigns supreme. He seemed to have had an instinct for the inevitable word, for the casual yet profound phrase, and possessed, moreover, the resources of a master metricist who knew how to use his verse as a precision instrument. Add to this a wealth of observation and a strong sensitiveness for the pervasive atmosphere of nature; Pushkin's emotional power, as rendered in his later lyrics, seems also to have encompassed a wider world of everyday humanity. His technique became increasingly lucid and terse, his words acquired a bare majesty of utterance, and a critic like Mirsky, not given to easy praise, considers some of his lyrical poems to have been written for all time. "... But his (Pushkin's) serious lyrical poetry," says Mirsky, "written between 1824 and 1830 is a body of lyrical verse unapproached in Russian and unsurpassed in any poetry. It is impossible without quotations from the originals to prove this statement, or to give an adequate idea of the nature of this poetry. Much of it is subjective, occasional, and emotional—the actual biographical occasion is frequently known . . . the poems preserve no ragged edges of extra-poetic sentiment, or undistilled emotion. . . . Their appeal, like the appeal of Sappho, is to common human experience. . . . The of the beauty style, which as always in Pushkin, is free from wit, imagery and metaphor, is a Greek beauty that depends as much on what is left unsaid as on what is said. It depends on the choice of words, on the adequacy of rhythm to intonation, and on the complex texture of sound"

We can appreciate why such poetry must continue to remain untranslatable.¹ Bare renderings in English prose might, however, be

¹ The selections included in "*An Anthology of World Poetry*," edited by Mark Van Doren (Casell), contains some fine renderings. Max Eastman, Babette Deutsch and Yarmolinsky, all of them well-known for their translations from Russian verse, give us echoes of some fine original; while the anthology of "*Modern Russian Poetry*," edited by Deutsch and Yarmolinsky (John Lane), excites greater interest in Pushkin's verse. I have not studied any recent translations of Pushkin's poetry.

attempted, the method pursued so far has suffered from the determined use of rhyme and of attempted form-transference. When Mirsky tells us about the enrichment of Pushkin's later verse, our expectation is further heightened, and our hope of finding a translator is correspondingly reduced. "After 1830 Pushkin's lyrical poetry tends to become impersonally universal and severely bare of all ornament. Henceforward its characteristics are: restraint, reticence, and an ascetic avoidance of all that which the public associates with poetic beauty—mellifluous ease, melodious tone, attractive sentiment. The most characteristic poems are impersonal elegiac meditations, proceeding from a 'thinking heart' brooding on the great commonplaces of universal experience."

We are reminded of the later Yeats and even of Rabindranath's great poetry belonging to the last few years of his life.

It is a pity that this otherwise exhaustive volume should have failed to do justice to Pushkin's lyrical poetry; the article by Prof. L. Timofeyer is rather unilluminating, and presents us with a pattern of sociological phrases. The article suffers from the absence of a historical or critical mind, and avoids names, dates, references to periods or any groups of individual lyrics; we are treated to a short and abstract panegyric with one or two isolated mentions of politically conscious verse. This is a subject which demands relevant extracts and a literary frame-work in which the background of Pushkin's age, and his own creative periods should be adequately presented.

One more comment is demanded: a book like this suffers from the complete absence of a bibliography. The student of literature, who in grateful reaction to this volume wants to launch into all available Pushkin literature, and obtain such translations as can be had in English or in any other European language, is left without any guidance. *The Works of Alexander Pushkin*, published by Random House, New York, is casually mentioned in a foot-note: no indication is given either of Russian works on Pushkin, or of the testimony of any other great Russian author except Maxim Gorky. Dostoevsky, unfortunately, is suffering from temporary obscurity—that will pass—but Dostoevsky's great "Pushkin speech" certainly deserves a fuller quotation. It was a warm and profoundly appreciative tribute, which first put Pushkin in public favour; Turgenev and other great authors followed in giving full value to Pushkin's genius. A proper historical perspective demands more of such literary facts and informative material. The absence of a section of translations—or suitable extracts given in an appendix—is also to be felt keenly by foreign readers.

No greater evidence of Soviet Renaissance could be found than the bare fact that such a volume could be published in 1939: a culture firmly established and flourishing on the sanction of a million hearts could alone prove its prowess on vital and interlinked fields of national expression. If we have noted a few inadequacies in this book, that is in no small measure due to the inevitably high standard—a standard consistently higher than that maintained anywhere else in wide-scale creative effort—which Soviet Russian scholarship and literary work have also entitled us to expect.

Pushkin is not only a national name, but a human tradition; his Abyssinian ancestry, the various phases of his European-cosmopolitan initiation, the process of an increasingly Russian and regional saturation, his individual frailties and impulsive nature—apart from his sheer genius as a writer—make him a symbol not of abstract perfection, but of human values. No country has done more than Soviet Russia to redeem, protect and develop these values in a united ascending curve of progress. In honouring him, therefore, the country is honouring its great humanity which transcends race and climate, and yet gains from rich diversity; this is, perhaps, the feeling which moves us most in reading this book. Here is Pushkin in Russia, a man amongst men. The pictorial record given at the end of the volume, flowing with wit, laughter and exquisite art, is added confirmation of this story. We are now enabled to approach a people, and its remarkable poet, with a renewed sense of reality; and we accept the spirit which lies behind this publication, using the words of Pushkin himself—

“ Shake and shiver, tyrants of the world ;
But lend an ear, ye fallen slaves,
Gain courage and arise ! ”*

* Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin : born, Moscow, 26th May, 1799—father's family, one of the oldest Russian gentry—mother, the granddaughter of Abyssinian Engineer-General, Abraham Gannibal, employed by Peter the Great—the poet was always proud both of his “six-hundred-year nobility” and of his African blood. Childhood spent at home in atmosphere of imitative French culture—in 1811 went to school at the Lyceum of Tsarkoye Selo; in 1817, on completing his studies, joined as clerk in the Foreign Office. Lived in St. Petersburg in fashionable society, writing poems which already made him well-known. Sent to Bessarabia; banishment due to his satirical verses incurring the displeasure of the Court. Joined Government Office there in Ekaterinoslav, 1820-23, lived reckless life in Kishnev, in service, and also produced maturer poetry. Allowed to return to Petersburg, on the accession of the Tsar Nicholas; appointed historiographer to the Crown. Married, in 1834, Nathalie Goncharova, a beautiful girl of 16. In 1834 appointed “a gentleman of the chamber” by the tsar, an honour resented by the poet. Life at home, and his Court connections, made him miserable; domestic entanglements led to duel with his brother-in-law D'Anthes. Mortally wounded, died two days later on 29th January, 1837.

Major works; *Eugene Onegin* 1825-1832; *Poltava* 1829; *Boris Godunov* 1830 (written in 1825); *The Bronze Horseman*, written 1833, published posthumously 1841; “*Little Tragedies*,” written in 1830, the most famous of the four plays “*The Stone Guest*,” remained unpublished till 1840; *Saltan King* 1832(?); besides, numerous ballads, tales, and great lyrics published from time to time.

(Materials gathered from Hamerton's *Outline of Great Books*, Mirsky's *Russian Literature*, various periodicals and other sources.)

SHAKESPEARE'S CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF GENIUS IN HAMLET

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GENIUS, objectivity, disinterestedness can be displayed in three directions, corresponding to the threefold attitude of man towards the outer world surrounding him. For firstly, man receives the impressions of the outer world; he perceives. Secondly, he mentally converts these impressions into ideas which he fits into the picture he has conceived of the world; he thinks. And thirdly, as a result of the impressions received and of the ideas he has obtained from them, he forms his resolutions and carries them; he acts. (Genius in perception leads to the conception of the beautiful. Genius in thought leads to truth, and genius in action leads to the accomplishment of what is good, great, and of solid worth.)

To those geniuses among humanity, in whom this perception of aesthetic, intellectual, and moral feeling was developed in the highest degree, William Shakespeare undoubtedly belongs. But the character into which he has infused his deepest and most personal sensations, thoughts, and aspirations, is his Hamlet.

According to the order of our researches, let us consider the nature of Hamlet's sense-impressions. How does the outward appearance of things affect his perceptive faculties? With what eye does he regard the world? The answer must evidently be—with the eyes of love, as in keeping with his nature. With what admiration, for instance, does he speak of his father's noble and heroic appearance; in what magnificent words does he clothe his enthusiasm when referring to the grand figure of the old king! It is impossible for him to conceive that the difference between the mere outward aspect of the two brothers—of the old King, and of King Claudius—did not suffice to keep his mother from exchanging a precious jewel for a pebble, a god for a monkey.

“ What devil was't
That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman-blind?
Eyes without feeling, feeling without sight,
Ears without hands or eyes, smelling sans all,
Or but a sickly part of one true sense
Could not so mope.”

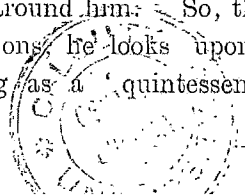
We see from the vivid style of the description with what intensity Hamlet becomes absorbed in the outward aspect of a man, how affectionately he regards all the perfections, and with what abhorrence all the defects in the outer form, in direct contrast to our naturalistic artists, who intentionally avoid all that is perfect and seek out all that is ugly in the figures they represent. But to be able to value, in Hamlet's intense way, what is perfect in the mere outer form, one must like him possess an unprejudiced, objective, disinterested eye for things. Now, generally speaking, women are of a less objective disposition than men. Their sphere of interest is a more limited one and therefore the purely beautiful has not for them the significance that it has for men. A subjective, one-sided interest makes it easier for women to entertain a liking even for what is ugly and deformed. Thus Goethe says in *Faust*:

“ A stubby nose, face broad and flat,
The women don't object to that;
For when his paw holds forth the Faun,
The fairest to the dance is drawn.”

And so with deliberate intention Shakespeare could paint in Queen Gertrude a woman who, after belonging to an Apollo, was capable of giving herself to a Faun.

With his intense appreciation for a perfect outward form, however, Hamlet combines an equally great enthusiasm for noble inward qualities, for a brave heart and lofty mind. Revolted by the mere outer shape of Claudius, he is still more so by his evil, base conduct. Besides the conscious artificial deception that a man like Claudius seeks to produce by outward amiability, there is also an unconscious, natural deception found in the wonderful charm that surrounds a girlish character like that of Ophelia. But with all her outward perfection, the 'celestial' Ophelia is only an incomplete fragment mentally; she is also a weak, frail woman, subjectively biased, and like Gertrude, accessible to all personal influences.

Indeed, Ophelia remains beautiful, ravishingly beautiful, even when Hamlet recognises that she does not possess the soul of a goddess. His thorough disenchantment on recognising that the ideal and the real do not coincide, that in this world what is evil and mean preponderates and succeeds, has embittered all his delight in the things around him. So, though his mind is highly accessible to aesthetic impressions, he looks upon the Earth as 'a sterile promontory' and everything as a 'quintessence of dust.'



The delight in natural beauty implies, of course, also a delight in artistic beauty, and hence, for instance, also in dramatic art. How fine a taste Hamlet displays in his conception of it, we see from the directions he gives the actor for reciting his verses. He would have the actor treat everything with propriety, that even in the torrent and whirlwind of passion he should acquire and maintain a certain temperance which lend a real grace to passion; the same demand that is made on the artist by Schiller in his *Essay on the Pathetic*, namely, that whenever passion is to be expressed, the moral freedom of man should be preserved, that is, the power of resistance, originating in his intelligence, to the passion which would make him a slave. A man so completely ruled by passion, grief, or lust that it tosses him helplessly to and fro, is neither a beautiful nor sublime, but simply a painful spectacle, and a subject rather for the pathologist than the artist.

We will now examine how in definite individual cases the objective mode of thought, as inspired by genius, reveals itself in Hamlet. Such a manner of thinking aims at finding, in the extraordinary manifoldness of incidents and events, the uniform law to which everything that happens is subject.

The individual experience, therefore, that Hamlet makes in his uncle Claudius, that a man may be a murderer and yet wholly amiable, he compares with similar occurrences, and thus deduces the general rule, the truth, that outward and inner qualities do not correspond at all in this world, that 'one may smile, and smile, and be a villain.' But in view of this general truth, the particular case by which this principle of the discrepancy between outward and inward qualities, between semblance and reality, is so conclusively proved, namely, the amiable smile of Claudius appears to him so significant, that he notes it in his tablets, just as one writes down other striking events that claim some general and fundamental significance.

An ordinary man would not be capable of forming such general view on the amiable smile of the murderer, would not be capable of recognising the truth that the murderer, in showing himself outwardly in the best possible light, only does what nearly all men do more or less by endeavouring to appear different from what they really are. In every man there is a larger or smaller fund of selfishness, vanity, pride, and thirst for revenge and yet everyone is on his guard against laying bare his own heart. Every one endeavours to inspire others with as good an opinion of himself as possible, and everyone thinks only the best of himself.

↓ A man of genius like Hamlet grasps the truth, even when it touches him personally and humiliates him. A selfish man sees the failings of

others, he even magnifies them and rejoices in the weakness and imperfections of his neighbour, but he does not perceive the beam in his own eye. A man of genius thinks logically. He establishes exceptions for his own person, he detects imperfections in himself as well as in others. "I am myself indifferent honest," he says to Ophelia, "but yet I could accuse me of such things, that it were better my mother had not borne me. . . ."

We now proceed to a consideration of the third way in which genius reveals itself in Hamlet's nature, namely, to a consideration of his objective interest. I believe it is Hamlet's objectivity and extraordinary disinterestedness, his deep-seated conviction of the imperfection and sinfulness of all men, that leave him free from the selfish impulse to seek personal satisfaction in the immediate execution of revenge.

Most finely has Shakespeare worked out the contrast between Hamlet, the man of objective mind, and the subjectively biased Laertes—Hamlet, the man of genius, with his grand nature, in all situations preserving his inner freedom and repose, and Laertes, the average man, who is raised above the crowd by outward circumstances and who is absolutely ruled by persons and events.

We hear how Hamlet, though in greatest excitement, immediately after the apparition of the ghost by whom he is informed of his father's murder, invokes heaven and earth, but not hell. "And shall I couple hell? O, fie!" he exclaims, when involuntarily the thought of it occurs to him. Even when most profoundly affected, Hamlet preserves so much mental freedom and self-dependence that he does *not* confound heaven and hell, supreme goodness and utmost depravity. Laertes is deprived of all calm reflection and his passion dominates him:

"To Hell, allegiance! vows to the blackest devil!
Conscience and grace, to the profoundest pit!"

Hamlet is the tragedy of idealism. Hamlet, like a true idealist, had begun by forming a totally false impression of the world and its character: for, himself disposed by nature to champion what he recognised as good and noble even at the sacrifice of all personal interests; he had lived, until his father's death, in the belief that people, in general, thought and felt as he did, and that, like himself, they loved what is noble for its own sake. Ever since he was old enough to think rationally, he had seen the two qualities of *goodness* and *power* combined in the person of his noble father; how easily, nay, in his affectionate heart, how necessarily would these two notions become inseparable, so that his entire view of life came to be based on the assumption that in reality disinterested love of what is good dwells in

all human hearts, and that goodness in the world also possesses power, simply because it is good and therefore deserves power. How joyfully he was ready to toil and labour at his part of the work in conjunction with those who, like himself, as he imagined, took a disinterested delight in all that was noble and beautiful, and who, like himself, were willing to give up everything in order to promote real good!

Evidence of this characteristic side of Hamlet's nature, the ungrudging, joyful recognition of another's merits and disinterested love of what is noble, is found in numerous passages, chief among them his speech to Horatio :

" for thou hast been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards
Has ta'en with equal thanks : and best are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled
That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please. Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart.
As I do thee."

A man like Hamlet, who is too disinterested to act from selfish motives, but who has also, through his recognition of the real character of men, lost all his joy in co-operating with them, will, as soon as he has passed through the crisis during which he must mentally assimilate his new experiences, and has finally been spurred into renewed activity by life itself, develop an activity of a kind not like, but entirely contrary to, that of other men.

If most men in their actions commonly pursue some practical purpose which serves their personal interests, if, in general, they work only for the sake of that purpose, if they only labour in order to enjoy the reward of their labours, then the actions of men of genius may be said, in a certain sense, to be without purpose, to be mere play. Great men look down upon the world. It is not the success of their activity which affords them their reward, it is in the activity itself rather that they find their highest enjoyment, hence the grand, bold manner of acting that characterises men of genius, whose delight is not in possession, but in the struggle for it. Hence also the sympathy of Hamlet the one great man, for the other great man, the ' delicate and tender prince, whose spirit, with divine ambition puffed, makes mouths at the invisible event, and who exposes what is mortal and unsure to all that fortune, death and danger dare, even for an eggshell.' ' Rightly to be great,' Hamlet adds further, ' is not to stir without great

argument, but greatly to find quarrel in a straw when honour's at the stake.' Therefore, it is also Fortinbras whose election Hamlet prophesies, adding, 'he has my dying voice.' It is Fortinbras who finally occupies the position that Hamlet should have filled. The grand and bold nature of Fortinbras is only another side of Hamlet's own character.

Goethe is undoubtedly right when he says that 'the man who acts is always devoid of conscience.' Indeed, no act, however unimportant, can be performed in this world of countless existences without in some way damaging the interests of others. He who would be absolutely just to everyone would have to remain entirely inactive, and anxious consideration for details and individuals would make any great action performed for the benefit of humanity quite impossible. Therefore, even Jesus said to the man who addressed him as 'good master,' 'Why callest thou me good? None is good, save one, that is, God.'

In truth, the cause of Hamlet's hesitation is found neither in the difficulty of his task as such, nor in the hindrances presented by his own character, that is to say, in fear or moral considerations; for on other occasions, as has been proved, he by no means shows himself a man whose actions are determined by such motives. It is rather because his whole mental life is engrossed and all his desires and endeavours are arrested for the time being by the recognition of the fundamental error that has so long influenced all the views of the world and man, that every decision and purposeful activity in themselves become hateful to him. This mental crisis claims all his thoughts and aspirations; and paralyses his natural energy in so far as systematic action is concerned. If we wish to arrive at a real understanding of the play, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that such a crisis has occurred in the hero's mental life, and in fact we see that, even before the appearance of the ghost that urges him to revenge as a duty, he is already filled with the same despairing grief at the moral weakness of man that affects him so deeply afterwards.

That which has profoundly hurt and wounded Hamlet is not the one man Claudius, it is the baseness of the whole world, nay, the baseness that he discovers as a potential agency in his own heart, as is plainly shown by his words to Ophelia. Hamlet would have destroyed Claudius just as one kills a poisonous insect, not for the sake of revenge or in the capacity of its judge, but merely to render it innocuous. But for the pessimism which had arrested all Hamlet's creative impulses, but for his despairing want of faith in the reality of things, but for his grief at the glaring contrast between fair outward semblance and hidden inner corruption, but for all these things which had deprived him for a time of all pleasure in existence, and destroyed in him all desire for a continuance of labour in this world of deceptive

appearances, he would have set up some aim for himself, imposed upon himself some task, and then have carried it out with that indefatigable energy, with all that contemplative calm, which characterised his great nature. Hamlet's talents are those of one born to rule, and thus he was obviously the man to take possession of the throne; for, as Fortinbras says at the conclusion of the play, 'he was likely,' had he been put on, 'to have proved most royally.' But pessimism excludes all assumption of a mission, for in a world where everything appears vain and hollow, the motive for activity directed towards any definite purpose cannot be found. Such pessimism in its extreme form is, however, but a natural consequence of the overthrow of the youthful optimism that belongs to an idealistic disposition.

In course of time nature, of its own accord, applies its curative process, and such a mental crisis gives birth to that virile maturity that looks upon the world neither as a consummation of all that is perfect, nor as a prison full of tortures, but as field for the employment of one's own creative power. There is nothing to prevent us from assuming that, sooner or later, Hamlet also would have fought his way to a life of conscious aim and purpose, if only time had been granted him to assume a well-ordered attitude towards life in general, and to regain what is the primary condition of all systematic action—calmness of mind.

He who wishes to understand Hamlet must constantly bear in mind that his is a nature in which extremes meet and call each other forth. In him are combined the humblest unpretentiousness with the fullest self-dependence of character, the most perfect modesty of demeanour with an eminent boldness in action, the nicest considerations towards others with inexorable candour; a mode of thought which pursues things to their uttermost consequences with the greatest distrust of his own judgment, the most uncompromising condemnation of the evil deeds of men with the most intense and profound love for mankind, the highest idealism of disposition with the keenest eye for the true relations of life, a most tender conscience that even recognises and condemns the potential elements of all evil in himself, with the untrammelled actions of the real hero who trusts in God alone. His is a personality indomitable in its energy and yet softened by the most delicate feelings; he is a whole man, an intellect of the highest rank—in a word, a genius.

THE MODERN TREND OF PRIMITIVE CULTURE ON THE BORDERS OF BENGAL*

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BENGAL is bounded on three sides by ranges of hills while on the fourth it is guarded by the Bay of Bengal. As long as history can take us back to the depths of the past we find these hills inhabited by primitive jungle tribes belonging to different racial stocks. Beginning at the south-eastern corner of the district of Chittagong, as we proceed towards the north, we pass by the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Hill Tippera, Cachar, Jaintia, Khasi and Garo Hills and then crossing the valley of the Brahmaputra we reach the southern boundary of Bhutan. In tracing this line we have included the district of Sylhet within Bengal, to which it belongs, both ethnically and physiographically, though now transferred to Assam on political and administrative grounds. The Chittagong Hill Tracts have, for a long time, been the favourite hunting ground of the trans-frontier tribes from Arracan. Its north-eastern portion, being adjacent to the Lushai Hills, is now inhabited by numerous Lushai and Kuki tribes, while the southern and eastern parts have become the home of the Chakmas. The latter are also found in Hill Tippera and number 135,503, almost all of whom are Buddhists. Hill Tippera is the home *par excellence* of the Tiparas who came under the influence of Vaishnavism not very long ago. Out of a total of 203,069 Tiparas distributed over Tippera State, Chittagong, Mymensingh and Chittagong Hill Tracts, Tippera State alone claims 161,005, all of whom (except 26) are Hindus. Along with them are found some Kuki tribes and a few Meithei settlements. The Kukis number 16,477 in Tippera State and Chittagong Hill Tracts but mostly in the former. Of these, all, except 2,725, have returned themselves as Hindus. In Cachar we meet with the advance guard of the Naga group of tribes. The Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, named after the respective tribes who have made these ranges their home, introduce us to a new environment, both geographically and culturally. The matrilineal principle marks out this area from the rest of the adjacent tracts. The valley of the Brahmaputra,

* The figures given in this article are taken from the Census of 1931 except where otherwise mentioned.

upwards from the place where the river turns towards the south and plunges into the soft soil of the plains of Bengal, was overrun by the Ahoms in the thirteenth century of the Christian era but these conquerors have fallen an easy prey to the culture of the conquered people.

As we trace our steps towards the west along the northern border of Bengal we meet with the three States of Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal outside the boundary of Bengal while within its limits we pass through the State of Cooch-Bihar and the British districts of Rungpur, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. As regards the three States outside our province we really know very little of their tribal culture while Cooch-Bihar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling bring to our notice the very important group of castes, *viz.*, the Koch, Paliya and Rajbansis, who were, not very long ago, members of the Tibeto-Burman tribal stock. They form a substantial section of the population of the above-mentioned districts being near about two millions (1,930,852) in number. This huge group has already established its claim to Hinduism and some sections of it have acquired even a fairly high position in this society. Though it is difficult to say what progress Hinduism has made within the mountain-home of the Garos yet a substantial section (34,286) of them has come under its influence in the district of Mymensingh. All the Hadis (14,312) and Hajongs (19,623) residing within the district of Mymensingh also returned themselves as Hindus in the Census of 1931.

As we now turn towards the south along the western border of our province we bid adieu to the Mongoloid stock and face the other great tribal group, the pre-Dravidian, which has perhaps wielded the greatest influence in the composition of the people and culture of not only Bengal but of the whole of India. The pre-Dravidian group is represented in Bengal mainly by the Santals, Bhumijas, Mundas, Oraons and Bhuiyas. There are some other minor groups besides these. The Santals are found in almost all the border districts, *e.g.*, Midnapur, Bankura, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Malda, and Dinajpur. A large number of them have also settled in Burdwan and Rajshahi where they have taken to agricultural life while the tea-districts like Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling have attracted a large number as labourers in the gardens. In Bengal alone they number more than three-quarters of a million according to the Census of 1931 (796,656). Of these about 54.4 per cent. have declared themselves as Hindus. The Oraons in Bengal number 228,161, the majority of whom are found in the tea-districts of Jalpaiguri (127,530) and Darjeeling (12,412). The rest are mainly distributed over Dinajpur, Rajshahi and the 24-Parganas where they have permanently settled down as agriculturists. Among this tribe too 136,427 or 59.7 per cent. have declared themselves to be Hindus. The Mundas number 108,686 in the province, of

which 63,107 or 58.1 per cent. are Hindus. They are mostly found in Jalpai-guri, Rajshahi and the 24-Parganas. Next in order come the Bhumijas and the Bhuiyas with a respective population of 85,161 and 50,405. The former are found mostly in Midnapur and Bankura while the latter occur mainly in Midnapur and Burdwan. Of the Bhuiyas resident in Bengal 97.9 per cent. are Hindus while out of a total of 85,161 Bhūmijas only 690 returned themselves as followers of the tribal religion and 24 as Christians.

Thus a glance at these figures points out unmistakably the prevailing tendency of the tribal population on the three borders of Bengal. Hinduism has marked its impress on the simple folk who have come in contact with it. It has been argued that tribal peoples migrating from their homeland fall an easy prey to Hinduism while those who remain in their own jungle fastnesses discard with disdain the approaches of Hinduism. This rather seems to be fighting with the air. Hinduism, in course of its eventful career of three thousand years, has never been credited with this virtue either by its friends or critics. The authors of the three Provincial Census Reports of Bengal, Bihar-Orissa, and Assam for 1931 have unanimously held the Hindu Mission responsible for the great Hindu upheaval among the tribal population during that decade. According to them, the propaganda of the Hindu Mission in the form of distribution of leaflets, proclaiming the tribal people to be Hindus of ancient extraction and asking them to establish their forgotten claims, has induced these children of nature to flock in large numbers to the Hindu fold. A copy of these leaflets has been published in the Report for Bengal to convince the public about its magic-value. Not only this, the organisers of the Hindu Mission are said to have held mass meetings in the tribal areas and by means of a simple ceremony (*Suddhi*) have purified and adopted the casteless people into the fold of caste-system. It passes beyond the comprehension of any ordinary man how a handful of men without any fund or patronage at their disposal could induce thousands of men to give up the religion of their forefathers and accept that of their neighbours. In 1921 out of a total of 712,040 Santals 158,383 or 22.2 per cent. declared themselves as Hindus while in 1931 out of a total of 796,656 no less than 433,502 or 54.4 per cent. returned themselves as Hindus. Similar also is the case with the Oraons resident in Bengal. Out of 202,442 only 64,677 or 31.9 per cent. were returned as Hindus in 1921 while by 1931 the table was turned and out of a total of 228,161 no less than 136,427 or 59.7 per cent. had adopted Hinduism. The increase in the case of the Mundas, though not so phenomenal, is not inconsiderable. We need not bring any more instance from other parts of the province to show the magnitude of the work of the Hindu Mission as attributed by the authors of the three Provincial Census

Reports though lots of such cases are reported in these publications. If a hundredth part of the work attributed to this infant institution had been really achieved by it, that would have established a record in the field of conversion and amazed any other proselytising institution of the world. We may be permitted here to ask a very pertinent question as to why the Christian Missionaries, with almost unlimited funds at their disposal and all sorts of inducements at their command, could not achieve the same amount of success, working over a period much longer than the life of the Hindu Mission. The fact is that the authors of the Provincial Census Reports have failed to read the situation correctly. It is neither the Hindu Mission nor any other institution that has worked this wonder in Bengal. The cause lies deeper in the heart of Hindu culture. The Hindu Mission has merely given voice to what had already been in existence in the mind of these primitive tribes. The slow but steady process of absorption of Hindu cultural elements by the tribal folk in and around Bengal has been going on for a longer time than the authors of the Provincial Reports could imagine. The Meitheis of Manipur, the Tiparas of Hill Tippera, and the Koch, Paliya and Rajbansis of Cooch-Bihar, Rungpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri, are a few of the many instances of the effects of this slow process of assimilation by Hindu culture. No one knows when, how and by whom these tribes have been brought to the fold of Hinduism at a great sacrifice of their personal and social convenience. When we look at the Nagas and Garos, the nearest relatives of the Meitheis, and the Tiparas, Koch, Paliya and Rajbansis respectively we are at a loss to understand why the latter imposed so many restrictions on their food and general behaviour and gave up their dignified social position in return for a dubious rank. Certainly the Hindu Mission or anything of its kind was not in existence then. The attraction for Hinduism among the tribal folk does not lie in material gain or spiritual uplift. It is more or less psychological. Hordes of barbarians from outside India repeatedly entered through its north-western and north-eastern gates and conquered and settled down. But after a few generations no trace of them could be found. Thus, the Bactrians, Scythians, and Huns entered through the north-west in historic times while the Ahoms came by the north-east. But at present history only testifies to their advent. They have no independent existence either as social, political, religious or economic groups. In fact, so complete has been the assimilation that there is no means of marking them out from the medley of castes which now compose the Hindu population of the tracts once overrun by these conquerors except a few slanting eyes or high cheek-bones or similar other physical characters which suddenly appear or disappear according to the laws of genetics. The factors which made possible their absorption in the Hindu society are

to this day working in the same manner and to the same end. The means and methods applied are also the same. To our mind this factor is nothing but what we would like to call "inferiority complex." The sturdy barbarians who from time to time brought to bear the strength of their arms upon the peace-loving and intellectually-inclined Hindus soon realised that in the values of life their achievements are far inferior to those of the conquered people. The result was that the conquest of arms was nullified by the conquest of mind and the proud lords of the soil with bent knees received baptism in culture from the conquered. Only in one case Hinduism failed and their failure was due to their conquerors' having a culture of their own. Partly owing to their own degeneration perhaps, and partly also due to the contents of the Islamic culture, Hinduism could not absorb its Muhammadan conquerors. But instead it raised impenetrable barriers between the two communities and thereby tried to protect its own culture from being wiped out by this new religion. This failure in cultural assimilation has divided modern India into two fighting camps and is causing so much anxiety to the Indo-English politicians. Conversion in the true sense of the term has never been the method of Hinduism. Theirs was the more subtle and surer mode of gradual absorption and assimilation. Hinduism may be compared to a huge python which lies inactive in the hope of its prey coming of itself within the range of its hypnotic vision. Once it has entered into this magic circle it has no other alternative but to pass unconsciously into the stomach of the monster. Any tribe that has come in contact with Hindu culture either in the past or in recent times has acted in the manner of the python's prey. As long as the hills and jungles of Chota Nagpur and Assam were inaccessible to their Hindu neighbours, their inhabitants enjoyed the religion and culture of their forefathers. But when the modern method of fast and easy transport spread out its steel arms into the interior of these mountain fastnesses, Hindu merchants and *mahajans* followed in its wake and worked as agents for the dissemination of Hindu culture. By ones and twos, at first the richer section of the community and then the ordinary people began to imitate the manners and customs of these vanguards of Hinduism. We have observed the working of this tendency among the Hos of Singbhum, among the Bhumijas of Manbhum and among the Bhuiyas of Mayurbhanj on the western side of Bengal. In the east also we found it among the Chirus and the Purums—two branches of the old Kuki group. Anybody interested in the matter may find many other instances of this tendency in Indian anthropological literature. A discussion on the merits or demerits of such absorption I leave for the present as that would lead to other problems.

It has been stated that in the home district of each tribe Hinduism is looked upon with great disfavour. True it is, no doubt. In Kolhan, in the interior of the district of Singhbhum, where Hos or Larka Kols have their stronghold, we found strong barriers raised against such sections of the tribe as have come in contact with the Dikhus (lit. foreigners, *i.e.*, the Hindus) and have been influenced by them to a certain extent. The Tamarua Hos are even regarded by the Hos of Seraikella as inferior to them, and inter-marriage and inter-dining with them have been tabooed. The reason is not far to seek. The Kolhan Hos have realised that unless they put up a very strong barrier around themselves they will in no time be wiped out of existence by the slow but steady advance of Hindu culture. This is also the case among the Santals of Santal Pargana and of many other tribal strongholds. The Government of the country have also joined hands with the tribes in the latter's attempts at self-preservation and have set up a separate system of administration under the name of "Excluded" and "Partially excluded areas," with rules and regulations calculated to put a stop to the easy entrance and settlement of foreigners in tribal tracts. But, have they been successful? In spite of all attempts; we find that at every successive Census the number of converts to Hinduism increases. The tendency is natural and psychological and there is possibly no outward measure which can put a stop to it. The lure of Hindu culture is too strong for the ordinary aboriginal: creation of an outer shell by the tribal leaders or Governmental measures for tribal isolation are equally ineffective in the modern conditions of life.

BENGAL FOLK DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS

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ĀLIPANĀ

DURING the progress of festivities and religious functions, the women of Bengal make Ālipanā drawings on mud floors and on courtyards. They are drawn on the ground by means of a small piece of cloth wrapped round a finger, and which has been soaked in thin ground rice-paste. These rice-paste drawings are connected with certain rites performed exclusively by matrons (*Nārī-Vṛata*) and virgins (*Kumārī-Vṛata*) or by priests on behalf of women (*Śāstrīya-Vṛata*).

VRATAS

Vṛatas are practical rites for the realisation of special wishes, and performed according to rules transmitted from generation to generation. These are not confined to any religious cult or special sect. The most common wishes of *Vṛatis* (women practising the ritual) are for long life, birth of a child, wealth, victory and general well-being. The Ālipanā drawings are executed during the performance of these rites.

It is not improbable that powdered rice was used originally for these Ālipanā drawings. Perhaps the necessity for using thin ground rice-paste first arose when Ālipanā drawings were drawn on walls and pillars. The use of the colour—white—is universal although other colour combinations are permitted, usually for wall-paintings and *Māghamandal Vṛata Ālipanās*.

CIRCULAR ĀLIPANĀ

The Ālipanā drawing is characterised by the conventional treatment of its designs. Age long forms, motifs, and their combinations have now become conventionalised as shown in the design of the circular Ālipanā. A central lotus entwined in creepers singly or jointly, and ending with *Kalasa* (pitcher) motif on the outer edge is the usual arrangement.

In this design, characteristics of the circular Ālipanā drawing, a type, which may well be termed *Vardhamāna*, has been evolved. This Ālipanā drawing always derives its form and shape by the gradual growth of interconnected floral and linear devices.

VRATA-ĀLIPANĀ

The Ālipanā of the *Vṛata* stories is somewhat different, consisting of fragmentary pictures illustrative of stories. The theme of these illustrations are consequently more varied. As a rule, the *Vṛata-Ālipanās* are drawn during the winter months by young girls, the Ālipanā drawing of *Tārā-Vṛata* being the most popular. On each day a different motif is executed until on the last day of the season all the known motifs are executed together on the one day.

Curiously enough, only for the Ālipanā drawing of the *Māghamandal-Vṛata* another favourite of the country girls, various coloured powders are used. This design usually consists of five concentric circles with representations of the sun and the moon at the top and bottom. The preparation of this Ālipanā drawing is different in that the patterns are cut into the ground. The first circle is filled in with powdered *bel* leaves (green), the second one with burnt powdered husk (black), the fourth one with powdered brick (red). The Sun is filled in with powdered brick and the moon with powdered rice; the one representing the red glow of the sun and the other the mellow white light of the moon.

As an illustration of one of the many *Vṛata*-stories a ballad about the country girls current in Eastern Bengal runs: "She (*Kājalrekḥā*) kept handfuls (of rice) of a very fine quality, the *shālī*, under water until they were thoroughly softened. Then she washed them carefully and pressed them on a stone. She prepared a white liquid paste with them and first of all she drew the adored feet of her parents who were always uppermost in her mind. She next drew two granaries taking care to paint the footsteps of the harvest goddess in the paths leading to them, and she introduced at intervals fine ears of rice drooping low with their burden. Then she drew the palace of the great god Siva and his consort Pārvatī in the Kailasa mountains. In the middle of a big lotus leaf she painted Viśnu and Lakṣmi seated together, and on a chariot drawn by the royal swan, she painted the figure of Manasā Devī from whom all the victories proceeded. Then she drew the figures of witches and the Siddhās, who could perform *tāntric* practices and next of the nymphs of heaven. She drew a *Seorā* grove (*Trophis aspera*) and under it the figure of Bana Devī (the sylvan deity). Then she painted Rakṣā Kali—the Goddess who saves us from all dangers. The warrior-god Kārttikeya and the writer-god Ganeśa she drew next with their respective *bāhanas* or animals, they rode. And then Rām and Sitā and Lakṣmaṇa were drawn by her admirably. The great chariot Puspaka—the aeroplane was sketched in her drawings and the Gods Yama and Indra were also introduced in this panorama.

“ She next painted the sea, the sun and the moon, and last of all an old dilapidated temple in the middle of a woodland with the picture of a dead prince inside it. She drew all figures excepting her own. The figures of the Needle-prince and of his courtiers were all there but not any of her own.

“ When the painting was finished, she kindled a lamp fed by sacred butter and then she bowed down with her head bent to the ground.”

The scope of the *Vrata-Ālipanā* drawing thus increases according to the theme of the story, but its character remains unaltered owing to its countless repetitions. Undoubtedly these *Ālipanā* drawings are not merely decorative. The elements of the design include conventional flora and fauna, concentric circles in series, spirals or curvilinear devices, short lines in series, foot-prints, ovals, swastikas, or geometrical designs or human and animal figures.

HIEROGLYPHS

Some of the forms and motifs found in *Ālipanā* drawings are hieroglyphic in character. These forms and motifs can be traced to pictographic representations of ancient times. Further, there is strong reason to suspect, as Dr. Malcolm points out, that certain leaf-like patterns, arcs, dots, parallel wavy lines, hatched lines, fish and animal motifs have significant resemblance to the tatu designs as practised by the aboriginal tribes of Bengal.

From the study of different kinds of *Ālipanā* drawings, it is evident that repetition and uniformity of motif are fundamental. The symmetrical character of the *Ālipanā* designs predisposes us to suspect that there is a definite survival of forms derived, no doubt, from earlier forms. Although these *Ālipanā* drawings illustrate the continuity of thought, one cannot omit the religious aspect of the subject. The desire of these simple people express themselves by means of drawings. This desire to propitiate by means of incantations, vows, etc., accompanied by some manifestation in practical form, whether pictorial art, dancing, singing, etc., is by no means uncommon.

PATA-PAINTINGS

In Bengal the word *Pata* signifies a picture painted on cloth or paper. This word as used in the current dialect has developed into *Patuā* meaning a painter.

The earliest *Pata*-paintings of Bengal are undoubtedly products of an art practised from very early times in the province. Elaborate directions

regarding the preparation and the method of painting are recorded in ancient Sanskrit works such as the Viṣṇudharmottara, Silparatnam, etc., and have been a guide for succeeding generations of Indian artists.

SCROLLS

The paintings in the form of scrolls which exhibit continuous representation, are shown to the public to the accompaniment of music composed by the artist himself. The second type, especially of the *Kālighāt-Patūās* are drawn on *tulat* (hand-made coarse paper), a little larger than a foolscap sheet. The scroll-paintings are so long that it is not possible for a spectator to visualise the whole picture at once, and so the meaning becomes evident only as they are unrolled.

Preparation.—The preparation of the cloth, selected for its even texture and smooth finish is coated with a thin layer of clay paste, carefully pounded and usually mixed with cowdung and water. When dry, the surface of the cloth is rubbed smooth, and it is then ready for painting. Lime or chalk paste on paper-faced cloth is another method of preparing a scroll. The memory image of the figures to be depicted are then painted in appropriate colours and outlined in lampblack or red.

Colours.—Five primary colours—white (*śveta*), yellow (*pīta*), lampblack (*kṛṣṇa*), green-brown (*haritāla*), red (*rakta*) are the usual media of the artist. Gold-leaf and gold-dust, silver-leaf and silver-dust may be also employed. In the preparation of the paints for use, the seeds of *tetul* tree are collected, boiled in hot water and the paints are mixed with the resultant paste. Barley paste may also be used. The artists are adepts in the mixing of these colours which retain their brilliance for long periods. Whatever is regarded as poor or excessive in the drawing is removed with the edge of a bamboo-scraper or by means of white paint.

These pictures usually illustrate mythological stories. The chief characteristic of scroll-paintings is that it contains all the qualities of mural painting. Boldness, vigour and spontaneity are remarkable features of these drawings. The technique of painting the trees is noteworthy. In the symbolic representation of the forest, a few trees only are used in the background.

JĀDU-PATUĀ

The scrolls drawn by the *Jādu-patūās* are relatively narrower and smaller. These pictures were originally exhibited to the tribal peoples of Western Bengal and Eastern Bengal, i.e., Santhāls and Bediās respectively. But, now-a-days, they have become quite familiar to the people in the villages. According to Dutt 'whenever a Santhāl man, woman or

child dies the *Jādu-patua* appears at the house of the bereaved family with a ready-made sketch of the deceased done from his own imagination. There is no attempt at verisimilitude but the picture merely consists of drawings of an adult or child or a male or female according to the age and sex of the deceased. The *Jādu-patua* presents the picture completely drawn in colour with one omission only, viz., the iris of the eye. He shows the picture to the relatives and tells them that the deceased is wandering about blindly in the other world and will continue to do so until they send gifts or money or some other articles through him, (viz., *Jādu-patua* himself), so that he can perform the act of *Chakṣudān* or bestowal of eye-sight.... So the relatives make presents of money or some other articles of domestic use to the *Jādu-patua* for transmission to the deceased and the *Jādu-patua* then puts the finishing touch to the picture by performing the act of *Chakṣudān* or supplying the iris of the eye in the picture of the deceased. It is perhaps from this semi-magical practice the *Jādu-patua* derives his name (*Jādu*=Magic; *Patua*=painter).

Further, the *Jādu-patua*s represent the Tiger-God in their scrolls. Paintings of animals particularly lions and tigers, take a prominent part in these scroll-paintings. Noble animals are shown full face and ignoble animals in profile. Their paintings are characterised by primitive qualities—vigour, naiveté and directness. When the *Jādu-patua*s came into contact with the Bengal folk they drew scenes illustrating the deeds of *Kṛṣṇalīlā* and *Rāmlīlā* which they have borrowed, but their technique is always essentially primitive.

KĀLIGHĀT-PATUĀ

In the miniature paintings of the *Kālighāt-patua*s, a greater efficiency in line drawing has been achieved. The first drawing is made with one long bold perfect sweep of the brush. Often the line is made in such a way that it is difficult to say where the artist first touched the paper and where he finished the outline. A drawing like "the sleeping lady" shows an amazing mastery of the brush. The *Kālighāt-patua*s are masters of drawing caricatures and satirical sketches in large number dealing with the topics of the day, the happenings in the law courts as well as in the bazaars. Even popular sayings and proverbs are well illustrated by them. Thus the picture has a wonderful mass appeal and mass appreciation.

ALDOUS LEONARD HUXLEY

SISIR K. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A.

THE disillusionment and frustration that rose out of the last Great War survived into the unhappy years that followed it. It was a sort of spiritual vacuum from which the vitalizing oxygen of faith and idealism had been withdrawn. The wings of the mind and spirit were folded in chill exhaustion. The youth of 1914, however false their expectations might eventually prove, could contemplate a stable future. Then came the Universal Madness—and the bottom dropped out of their universe. Men woke to the belated realization that everything was not for the best in the best of all possible worlds. And in the reaction that set in, the world of Values crumbled into ruins. Amidst the general disintegration the spirits of Parnassus who had been dragged down from the heights during the universal madness found return to those lofty realms no longer possible. The world which they had ignored so long, refused to ignore them.

The re-awakened interest in the world of reality forced upon the disillusioned generation an irresistible urge to remould their battered little universe nearer to their heart's desire. Politics ceased to be an abstraction, Economics acquired a vital importance. And the frontiers arbitrarily set up by a fallacious dichotomy, between the world of the mind and its counterpart outside, were obliterated under the impact of events. The new pre-occupation with the daily concerns of man acquired widespread vogue with but a few exceptions. A critical spirit was abroad which was seeking expression in widely divergent spheres according to the individual temperaments of writers and artists, and this may be described as a typical manifestation of the post-war deflated idealism. In the din and fury of ideological battles the erstwhile *habitués* of the ivory opium den participated with all the ardour of a convert's zeal. And in the general *mélée* the dissolution of barriers, pretensions, and values necessitated a groping towards new orientations.

The lamps had gone out not only in Europe but all over the world. In the ensuing darkness, a pall of depression descended over the jaded war-weary world. The intellectual who had not escaped the general extinction of idealism, discovered the antidote to the natural pessimism of ordinary men in an amoral nihilism—a defence-mechanism of the

sensitive spirit against further disillusion.¹ A tendency to ridicule and to accept nothing seriously became the general characteristic. And laughing they could ridicule the absurd and the grotesque. Elizabeth Bennet in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* said, "I hope I never ridicule what is wise and good. Follies and nonsense, whims and inconsistencies, do divert me, I own, and I laugh at them whenever I can." Aldous Huxley could echo Elizabeth Bennet's words. He is the one considerable intellect of his generation who has a great heart and a great humour.

One of the most important contributions of the last War to the literary influences of the period consisted in killing and mentally maiming a good half of one complete generation. This left literature in the hands of a small circle of writers who were by training and mental make-up already sufficiently segregated from the common run of people. The whole of literature of this period thus developed an academic detachment. Aldous Huxley did not escape this. In *Crome Yellow* (1921) he bluntly declares, "The proper study of mankind is books,"² and elsewhere in the same book Mr. Wimbush remarks, "How gay and delightful life would be if one could get rid of all human contacts!"³

One might say that this detachment on his part was due to a sense of 'spiritual confidence' or 'intellectual sufficiency.' But really speaking, his detachment is the detachment of a thinker who finds himself isolated from the society in which he lives and moves, and who has not been able even after earnest endeavours to discover a private haven to retire to. Indeed, this post-war attitude of disillusionment, as expressed in *Crome Yellow*, *Those Barren Leaves*, and his other earlier works, was in essence an attempt on his part to reconcile his own divided personality by discovering a personal point of view that would replace his too curious examination of every point of view.

"After the War," he writes in *Ends and Means* (1937), "the philosophy of meaninglessness came once more triumphantly into fashion. By the end of the 'twenties a reaction had set in—away from the easy-going philosophy of general meaninglessness, towards the hard, ferocious theologies of nationalistic and revolutionary idolatry. Meaning was reintroduced into the world, but only in patches."⁴ Without examining the validity of Huxley's conclusions, it should be noticed that though the writer of this seems to be a different person, he is really the same Aldous Huxley as wrote *Antic Hay* (1923) and *Those Barren Leaves* (1925);

¹ With the passage of years as fresh values grew up, the nihilism of the immediate post-war years gradually gave way to a more positive outlook.

² *Crome Yellow*, p. 304.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁴ *Ends and Means*, p. 274.

only he has grown older. For there was present, in those earlier and perhaps more tentative efforts, the germ of seriousness that came later in his *Ends and Means*.

Another great English writer, Galsworthy, saw the inherent rottenness of society. But with Aldous Huxley the disintegration witnessed to by the older writer has now reached alarming proportions. In *Point Counter Point* (1926) society seems like one "great festering mass of putrescence," or to change the metaphor, "the wheels of society spin round more and more madly in a wild rush of pleasure-seeking and excitement, but without direction and control." Symbolical of the general disorder is the picture of the daughter of one of the great aristocratic families of England, who lives entirely for sexual excitement and power, and expends her splendid health and energy in destructive incursions into other people's happiness. Her mother for years has carried on an affair with a prominent artist, while her father has retreated from the responsibilities of his public position and is absorbed in scientific research. And while the rich are amusing themselves in useless gaiety, evil strife festers and ferments. These rising tides of bitterness and discord take form in a kind of Fascist organisation on the one hand, and increasing violence of labour on the other and through diverse incidents culminate in the cold-blooded murder of the leader of the Fascist organisation by Lord Edward's laboratory assistant, in whom class-hatred burns even more strongly than his enthusiasm for science. Nor do art and literature escape the lash. Burlap, an eminent man of letters, who boasts of a high moral tone, is pilloried as a hypocritical sensualist of the most nauseous type, while John Bidlake the artist is revealed to us as facing the ordeal of physical suffering without courage or self-control. Permanent married love seems to have been abandoned as a quixotic and impossible ideal. Even to the highly intelligent Philip Quarles, who may in a restricted sense be taken as the author himself, all is vanity. He had once believed in the search for Truth but now feels that it is only a distraction, a substitute for real living. "The book ends in a culmination of horrors, finely orchestrated by the author and closes with the satiric picture of sanctimonious Burlap,"¹ who while his first and faithful love is lying with her head in a gas oven, is taking a bath with her successor and pretending that they are little children. "Two little children sitting at opposite ends of the big old-fashioned bath. And what a romp they had! The bathroom was drenched with their splashings. Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."²

¹ A. R. Reade, *Main Currents in Modern Literature*.

² *Point Counter Point*, p. 601.

"The problem for me," writes Philip Quarles, "is to transform a detached intellectual scepticism into a way of harmonious all-round living."¹ It is certainly the problem of Aldous Huxley also, and, perhaps the greatest tribute to his integrity both as artist and thinker lies in the fact that he has never allowed what is essentially an egocentric approach to life to degenerate in literature into mere egotism.

Actually it is this fundamental egocentricity which gives a certain and not entirely spurious unity to his work that is, in essence, discursive and indeterminate. If, as such titles as *Antic Hay* and *Those Barren Leaves* indicate, Aldous Huxley would place himself among the satirists, then none of his books quite fulfils his avowed purpose. Indeed, what he himself describes as "the philosophy of meaninglessness" was never truly implicit even in his earlier works, which most nearly answers to the test of satire, and was gradually sloughed, till in *Point Counter Point*, with its emphasis on the antithesis between "passion and reason,—self-division's cause," his vicarious Ulysses becomes avowed, in the person of Quarles, the detached and meticulous observer of human aberrations, while his personal Odyssey is already leading him on towards that curious form of personal salvation, which in *Eyeless in Gaza*, takes shape as a considered and reasoned opinion that there are certain things in vindication of which he would be passively prepared to be knocked down in public.

In *Brave New World* (1932) which in some sense marks the end in Huxley of what he calls the "philosophy of meaninglessness," it is less science that is challenged than the uses to which it is put. There is too much care and ingenuity in his descriptions of the laboratory equipment, and actual scientific process of his test-tube-produced civilization, to support the claim generally advanced at the time of the book's publication, that it was a satire on scientific-industrial civilization.

He had not yet written *Ends and Means*, and in *Brave New World* it is the industrial end, rather than the scientific means, that he is satirizing. The prostitution of science to the ends of the Fords and the Monds did not necessarily connote that science is and must always be a bawd.

Actually in *Brave New World*, as in every other book of Aldous Huxley except *Eyeless in Gaza*, where a tentative approach is made towards a personal declaration of faith, there is no indication of choice for the reader or assertion of preference by the writer. The inescapable pyrrhonism of Aldous Huxley's mind leaves his reader with all data, but no lead.

¹ *Ibid.*

On a reduced scale Huxley may be described as the Voltaire of our age. The Frenchman's levity, irony and scepticism, his multifarious knowledge and his awareness of scientific and philosophical advance are also, his by virtue of an affinity of temperament and by legitimate intellectual descent. "He is a spiritual child of Voltaire but with one grave omission in the heredity, for there is nothing in his brilliant combination of qualities that corresponds with the great Frenchman's untiring warfare against oppression." Voltaire was able to fuse his sceptical irony with humanitarian ardour. In Huxley the first element is active at the expense of the latter, and *Brave New World* is interesting mainly because it manifests, if ever so faintly, a dawning concern for the future of the race. We may describe it not inaccurately as a *conte philosophique* in the Voltarian manner.

Eyeless in Gaze (1936) "is the story of a number of attempts to achieve liberty. The main theme of the book is the development of the hero from boyhood, and his discovery in middle life that this irresponsible liberty is no liberty at all." That is the story in short. But can we call it a 'story'? Really we are challenged by a 'thesis,' the thesis of how "to achieve liberty" in this modern world of ours. "The satirist of the earlier works, the critic of the dilemma of our brave new world, reaches out to a solution of his own problem and the problem of all of us."¹ For this reason *Eyeless in Gaze* should be regarded as one of Huxley's most serious works. As a story this book is on a level with his former work. The same characters reappear and are even recognizable; there are the same sudden glimpses of beauty in an evil-smelling swamp; the same pre-occupation with biology. As always, though more insistently here, a too-self-conscious sincerity, which is more than half-ashamed of itself, is set off by brutal and humiliating details. Huxley appears to be a moralist and very few have given such a true diagnosis of the troubles of our time as he.

"With another part of his mind he was miserably thinking that he would never succeed in bringing about the transformation of his raw materials into the finished product; that he did not know how or where to begin; that he was afraid of making a fool of himself; that he lacked the necessary courage, patience, strength of mind."²

Verily, we get the picture of *Eyeless in Gaze* and with no strength, almost "chairless in an exhausting world." Huxley has not yet heard Truth *ex cathedra*.

¹ "Criterion," October, 1936—Review by M. C. D'Arcy.

² *Eyeless in Gaze*—"Diary of Anthony Beavis."

with the outside world, deprive Britain of the Iranian oil supplies, threaten Bahrain, Mosul and Baku oil-fields, and use Iran as a springboard for a direct invasion of India and for an attack in Russia's rear.

It was to prevent this Nazi expansion and to promote their own war effort that the British and Soviet Governments wanted to do away with German influence and substitute for it their own influence in Iran. But as Reza Shah, imbued with his nationalist views, failed to appreciate the Allied standpoint he was obliged to abdicate. This shows that in spite of his twenty years of great activity he could not make Iran as strong and as efficient a power as he had wished to make it. If he had succeeded in his mission, the Allies would not have dared to invade his country. Nor would there have been an occasion for it. Iran would have been strong enough to withstand German pressure and that is what the Allies desired most. That this point of view is correct is illustrated by the attitude of both the Axis and the Allied powers towards Turkey whose neutrality still remains inviolate.

What about the future of Iran? Has it been sealed with the abdication of Reza Shah? We think not. A Russian victory will certainly galvanise the progressive forces in Iran into a new life and we may expect a new Iran to emerge out of the present turmoil.

¹ The exact number of Germans present in Iran at the time of its invasion is not known. The British press gave out this number as 8000. But this was probably an exaggerated estimate. No official statement has yet revealed the exact number of persons who were interned after the British and Russian occupation as dangerous to the Allied cause.

² *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1942, p. 367.

TRANSLATIONS FROM RAMPRASAD : THE COSMIC ADVENT

LOTIKA GHOSE

(6)*

How the battle queen doth fight,
The earth trembles with her might,
As her steps rhythmic fall,
Destructive of the cosmic all.

Star-strewn space hushed lies,
Earthly life shamed dies,
As in tuneless texture weaving,
In herself all Time receiving,

The sun she hides in her hair,
With her hands exceeding fair,
Grinding the planets, an eternal must,
Like little insects into dust.

The moon so bright doth fall aghast,
As in awe some beauty vast,
Crushing all forces undivine,
She from soul vintage presses the wine.

To eternal music dancing,
Cosmic into life advancing,
The wine of life her comrades serve,
As smiling, oh, with what sweet verve,

She doth fulfil all human hope,
None leaving in despair to mope,
Till in her name climbing steep,
Eternity the soul doth reap.

* মরি ও রমণী কি বণ করে,
রমণী সমর করে, ধরা কাঁপে পদভরে।

Round The World

Australian Elections

The report of the general elections to the House of Representatives in Australia, which was held a few days ago, tallies exactly with expectation. In the last Parliament the Labourites commanded thirty-six seats, the two wings of the Conservative Party also thirty-six and two remaining seats were held by two Independents with whose support Mr. Curtin formed the Labour Government in October, 1941, and remained in office during the last two years. The recent elections have been a land-slide for the Conservatives. They have lost to Labour twelve seats so that the position now is: out of seventy-four seats the Conservatives have twenty-four, the Independents two as before and the Labourites forty-eight. That the result of the elections has been a stunning blow to the Conservatives is further testified to by the observations of Mr. R. G. Menzies who had been Premier in 1941. On being asked to comment on the elections, he replied very sadly, "You ask me for comment. One cannot very well comment when one has been hit on the head by a sledge-hammer or run over by a taxi." But although he has been overwhelmed by defeat and has evaded comment on that score, the fact remains that this defeat is very largely due to the gross incapacity which he showed as Premier and as the leader of the Conservative Coalition. It is true, that because of his mismanagement and consequent unpopularity he vacated the Premiership which was taken over by Mr. Fadden. But by that time the unpopularity of the Conservatives had reached a climax. Mr. Fadden could not retrieve the situation in the least and had to give way to a Labour Government. Mr. Curtin who succeeded him as Premier and under whose leadership the Labour Party has now achieved a great victory was known in 1941 to be very lukewarm as to the acceptance of office by Labour. But the unpopularity of the Conservatives and the poking by Dr. Evatt made him change his mind and form his Government. The last two years have certainly been intensely difficult for him to face. But he rose equal to the situation, and both by his frank speeches and by his earnest work he won the confidence of the Australian people, although his outspoken utterances incurred for him the displeasure of high quarters on some occasions.

Indian Soldiers in Sicily

It seems that there has been some mismanagement in publicity regarding the soldiers of different allied nations participating in the invasion of Sicily. At first news was published that the British and the Americans were responsible for the invasion. This drew a rather sharp protest from the Canadians who also had participated. But for about two weeks it was not given out that the Indian soldiers had anything to do with the invasion. Nor, it seems, was there any curiosity about it either in the Government of India or in the Indian public. So we became virtually reconciled to it that the Indians did not form part of the invading force. Then one morning the newspapers brought us the news that Indian soldiers had their share in the difficult undertaking of the invasion. For several days, thereafter, we got information as to how the Indians were faring in Sicily, how they were picking up acquaintances with the natives of the island and how they were acquiring mastery of some indispensable Sicilian words. Then still later Reuter sent us a message that true the Indians had participated in the invasion but they had nothing to do with the actual fighting. They were only engaged in unloading munitions in the initial stage of landing.

Perhaps the Government of India in the Department of Military Information might have taken a leaf out of the book of the Canadian Government and given us some exact information and that at the right time. Will they be more alert when next occasion arises?

Hoare Sees Franco.

Recently Sir Samuel Hoare had a long interview with General Franco. What the subject of conversation was, we do not presume to know exactly. There are some who believe that terms of peace may have been discussed between the head of the non-belligerent Government of Spain and the British Ambassador. That Franco is the most plausible channel of peace negotiation, if such negotiation is decided upon by the enemy, none will dispute. But as more than once it has been announced as the policy of the United Nations that Germany must be utterly defeated before any talk of peace will be entertained, it is unlikely that it could have been the subject of the long interview which Sir Samuel had with Franco. A news agency has suggested that the British Government has a long list of grievances against the Spanish Government in respect of the latter's activities in Tangier and other places, and possibly the Ambassador had in this interview an occasion to refer to them. That this suggestion is also very plausible, every one will admit. During the last three years Sir Samuel Hoare has had a most difficult time at Madrid. When he went there, the future of his country was hanging in the balance. Prospects were as gloomy as they might ever be. Spain did not indeed technically join the Axis Powers but she soon departed from strict neutrality and became a *non-belligerent*. The Spanish Government was not only grateful to the Axis for all the help that it had received from it during the Civil War but was through and through impregnated with Axis ideals. Spain again was full of bragging Axis nationals and all the leading lights of Spain also were identifying themselves with the policy which Germany and Italy were pursuing and the victories which they were achieving. It is true that Sir Samuel himself as a member of the Chamberlain Government had also rendered considerable service to the Franco side during the Civil War by sticking to the policy of so called non-intervention. But such service was now minimised in Spanish circles and it was thought that it had been rendered only out of fear of the Fascist states. To work in this hostile atmosphere from day to day must have been a great trial to Sir Samuel. The indifference with which His Majesty's representative was treated must have been particularly galling to a person who had acted for years as the Grand Moghul at the India Office and was an aspirant for the Premiership of the British Empire over which the sun never sets. In view of this, the present turn of the War must have been immensely gratifying to him. The table is now turned and he must be now bringing it home to those who had sneered at him before that he laughs best who laughs last. Even a few months ago he could not possibly have taken up with Franco any of the many grievances which the British Government might cherish against the latter's administration. It was Sir Samuel's duty even then to keep him in humour and not to find fault with him in any way. But the situation is now altered and Sir Samuel may now speak in a new tone.

Delhi University Act

The recent session of the Central Legislature was largely occupied with the Delhi University Act Amendment Bill. The most important feature of the Bill was a provision for the three years' graduate course. One year is henceforward to be cut out from the college curriculum and the intermediate examination is to be dropped. To compensate for it a year of study will be added to the High School

course. The result will be that the colleges will be responsible from now on for the education of more mature boys and girls who after three years of work at these institutions will have an opportunity of graduation. The second important provision in the Bill is that for a paid Vice-Chancellor. In view of the fact that the colleges are being made integral parts of the University in a far truer sense than before and in view of the fact that the University on its own account is also responsible for imparting instruction in certain branches of study, it is but fit and proper that the Vice-Chancellor as the executive and directive head of the University should be a whole-time functionary.

During the discussion of the Bill the question of the representation of the minority communities, particularly the Moslems, loomed very large. The Moslem League representatives demanded earmarked representation in the Court, the Executive Council and the services. Such representation in the Court has practically been conceded but that in the Executive Council and the services could not be granted. It does not seem that the Moslem representatives have been satisfied with what they have secured. But the acceptance of the principle of all-round separate communal representation in all the organs of a university may only stultify it completely as an educational institution. This point of view has been emphasised very strongly both by the Educational Commissioner and by Sir Jogendra Singh, the Education Member. But the demand of the minorities for such communalism appears to be growing every day. In the face of this the leaders of different communities may do well to sit round a table and discuss the future of educational organisation. They must ask themselves seriously if in the existing relations between the different communities it may not be in a sense wiser to have altogether separate educational institutions for the different communities. In the United States while some Catholics attend the non-denominational colleges and universities, they have their own institutions also for higher education. In Canada the French and the English Canadians do not attend the same Universities. Even in the same cities as in Montreal their educational institutions are entirely different. It may be pointed out that such separation in education will only help in stereotyping the existing differences between one community and another and remove all the advantages which common education provides for the stimulation of a sense of unity. But if common education produces only frequent quarrels between communities on this or that pretext, as it has done in many places, we may have to revise our opinion as to these advantages of common education. High cost involved in duplicating educational institutions and this in a poor country like India should also be seriously thought over. But communalism has to be paid for in one way or another. We have again heard a good deal of late as to cultural domination of one community by another. Completely separate educational institutions may help in doing away with this idea which has really become an obsession with some. In any event time appears to have come when both political and educational leaders should think seriously of this question and decide upon some definite policy.

Russia and Quebec Conference

The Conference held at Quebec was pre-eminently an Anglo-American one. No Russian representative was associated with it and the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. Soong, also attended it not for participating in its deliberations but only for receiving the decisions arrived at in the Conference. The question has been debated if the Soviet Union remained aloof from it either by choice or by compulsion. There are some who appear to be of the view that the Soviet Government did not attend it as it was not invited to attend. There is again the other version according to which Stalin, when sounded about it, expressed his unwillingness to participate in its deliberations on the ground of

pre-occupation with the German war. This suggestion is not very plausible. Pre-occupied are all the United Nations—Great Britain and the U. S. A. no less than the Soviet Union. The Quebec Conference was not a social picnic that the U. S. S. R. could not attend it on the ground of more serious war work at home. It was a Conference to discuss the principles and details of war strategy. Consequently greater the pre-occupation with war, the great ought to have been the interest of a power to attend it. But there is the third point of view according to which the Soviet Union could not possibly have anything to do with a Conference in which the strategy of war against Japan with which it is at peace would be discussed and decided upon. This point of view may have some truth in it. At least it appears to be very plausible. But even then it may be asked as to why the Government of Free China was not called upon to take a full part in the Conference and why Dr. Soong was asked to attend only to receive the decisions already arrived at. China has declared war against all the Axis Powers and she is certainly as interested in the war against Japan as either Great Britain or the U. S. A. It does not appear on this score that there was any obstacle in the way of the Chinese Government taking its full share of the Conference. It may also be asked if Great Britain, the U. S. A. and the Soviet Union who are fighting together against the Axis Powers in Europe are not required to hold war conferences from time to time to discuss and decide upon their lines of action. Great Britain and the Soviet Union are bound by a treaty of alliance. The latter and the U. S. A. may not be technically bound by such ties but actually they also are allies fighting as they are a common enemy. It is true that a three-power conference has been forecast and even announced by certain people. We hope it will be as big an affair as the Conference at Quebec.

Meanwhile there has been a good deal of speculation as to the repercussions of the Quebec Conference in the U. S. S. R. There are some who take it that Stalin has been angry with it and his indignation is evidenced by his withdrawal of Litvinov from Washington. But an ambassador may be withdrawn and another substituted in his place for many reasons. They need not necessarily be connected with Stalin's displeasure regarding the Conference. But that there is some disagreement between the Soviet Union and the other United Nations with regard to war aims, if not also with regard to war strategy, appears to be corroborated by the publication of an article in a Moscow magazine entitled *War and the Working Class*. While the U. S. S. R. aims at incorporating in the Soviet Union the Baltic States and that portion of Poland which it conquered in 1939, a large section of the public in Great Britain and the U. S. A. is demanding the establishment after the War of a strong federal union consisting of Czechoslovakia, the whole of Poland, Lithuania and other territories. It thus appears that there is a good deal of conflict of interest. It is also significant that while the recent abolition of the Comintern gave out the impression in many circles that the Soviet Union was no longer much interested in the workers of other countries, the magazine, referred to above, points out that it has still unflagging interest in the fate of workers abroad. But while we may note these observations, we should always bear it in mind at the same time that the first principle followed by the Soviet Government is to concentrate upon one thing at a time. That thing to-day is the war against Germany. So long as it lasts and in fact so long as Germany is not defeated decisively, the U. S. S. R. will not allow minor differences of opinion to interfere with its friendship and collaboration with Great Britain and the U. S. A. It is unreal on this account to emphasise Soviet-American or Soviet-British differences.

Indian Political Reform in Cold Storage

Brendan Bracken, a former admirer of Mr. Winston Churchill and now Minister of Information in his Cabinet, gave it out in an interview that Indian

political reform would be in cold storage during the period of the war. This is good news in so far as it at least puts a definite quietus to many speculations as to the intention of His Majesty's Government. It is also an effective rejoinder to Mr. Rajagopalachariar's plea that Sir Stafford Cripps should again be sent out to this country immediately to treat with the Indian leaders as to the creation of an interim government in India for the duration of the war and as to the system of government to be set up after its conclusion. That for the British Government this is the most convenient policy we have to admit. The Congress leaders are safely behind the prison bars, the Moslem Leaguers are co-operating with the British Government in the provinces and do not seem to be in the least eager for a more popular government at the centre at this moment. The general people outside the government circles are either too pre-occupied with the problem of food supply or otherwise demoralised on account of the political misadventure of last year. In these circumstances it is consistent with the traditional British policy in this country to keep silent as to the devolution of political power. The British Government have always made political concession because of some kind of pressure. In the absence of such pressure it is idle to expect that there will be even any serious talk of reopening the political issue. There are many who will think that this point of view is crass nonsense. They do not believe in pressure politics. They think that the British Government will, out of their own good will, proceed to do justice to this country and confer upon us absolute autonomy. We may wish them well and leave them to cultivate this good will.

G. B. S. and India

Asked to be associated with the Council of Indian Independence which has been formed in London, George Bernard Shaw has declined the invitation. But in so declining he has maintained as usual his originality for which he has been so very noted during all these years of his life. First of all he says that he does not believe in independence for any country. All countries are and should be interdependent. Instead of the different states remaining independent of one another they should be bound together by ties of some kind of federation. This line of argument for refusing to join the Council may not appeal to many. They may not appreciate it that the *most intelligent* man in the British Empire has not understood the urge and the motive behind the formation of the Council of Indian Independence. The motive is evidently not so much to cut away India from the rest of the world but to free it from the domination of another country. If the idea of a federation materialises in one form or another, there will certainly not be any difficulty on the part of India to join it on suitable terms. The second reason advanced by Shaw for his declining the invitation is that he believes in Indian independence being fought for and achieved only by the Indians themselves. In this also there is room for misunderstanding, though Shaw would not bother much about it. Without efforts on the part of the Indians themselves they cannot of course have any freedom. This is self-evident. But although primary responsibility is on Indian shoulders, there is no harm in outsiders helping and strengthening Indian efforts. When Italy in the last century threw off the shackles of Austria, was not she helped by both France and Great Britain? Examples may be multiplied but one is enough to prick the bubble of Shaw's theory. We, however, repeat that he has his own original way of doing things.

Information about American Life

Recently Mr. Robert Rand, the Calcutta Director of the U. S. Office of War Information, delivered a number of talks at the Calcutta University. The subjects upon which he dwelt included a general Introduction to the United States, the American Political Scene and Education in the United States. The talks were evidently intended to create an interest about the United States

in those who have so far known little or nothing in respect of that country. We do not mean to say that there is nothing in these talks which may be of interest to those who know something of Uncle Sam. In fact there are facts here and there, which are interesting. But the talks were of a very elementary character as they were certainly intended to be, and it cannot be denied that as such also they have an utility of their own. We would, however, expect Mr. Rand to follow up this course with another in which he may expatiate in some great detail upon important aspects of American social and political life. For instance one of the talks may be concerned with the social life in the American Universities and another may be devoted to American post-war policy. These are topics in which the University teachers and students will certainly be very much interested. Since we wrote the above, Mr. Rand was killed in an air crash. We regret his untimely death.

The Future of England

W. R. Inge acquired years ago a great notoriety by his melancholy writings as to the future of his country and became known as the gloomy Dean. After his retirement from the Deanery of St. Paul, he remained rather quiet for some time. But recently he came out again in an article in *The Fortnightly* with his gloomy forecast as to the future of England. As usual he does not believe that a new heaven and a new earth will be created after victory is achieved by the Allies in the present War. He thinks that Russia will have an indisputable ascendancy in two continents but possibly too busy with reconstruction work at home the Russian Government will not try to conquer the western countries of Europe. England will have in consequence an opportunity of settling her domestic affairs. In fact it will be to these affairs that she would be required to pay undivided attention.

It was by the development of industries in which England had the advantages of a pioneer that she found it possible to support her growing population. In 1815 it was fourteen millions but in the course of a century and a quarter it has risen to forty-five millions. But the "gloomy Dean" is singularly pessimistic as to the future of British industries. He does not think that after the War British manufactures can be sold in any large quantity abroad. In view of this, the large population also cannot be maintained. As for the social services which had already been introduced and which are further contemplated in the Beveridge Report, he thinks that they are only a mad venture. They are in his opinion only a premium upon British idleness and lack of self-respect. They are also a stimulus to an increase of population which the country can no longer support. In fact he thinks that this population will have to be reduced to about 20 millions in the new order of things. His conclusion is really very interesting. It is this:—

"As regards our country, everything seems to me to point in one direction. The episode which we call industrialism has definitely closed, and with it our position as one of the Great Powers of Europe. In the course of the next hundred years we shall go back to the England before the industrial revolution. We shall be a self-supporting country with a stable population of perhaps twenty millions, for there will be improvements in agriculture. It will consist mainly of farmers, shop-keepers, and professional families. The two classes which will have disappeared will be the rich, who can never recover from the present War and the trade unions who have not much survival value. I do not think the change need be regretted. We shall be happier and healthier people than we are now, and there need be very little poverty or unemployment. Spain, Holland, and Sweden have gone through the same change and fortune, and while Spain is the mother of great nations, Holland and Sweden are normally two of the happiest and most civilised nations in Europe."

But what about the Empire?

Reviews and Notices of Books

Japan: Its Weakness and Strength.—By Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. Introduction by Lalita Kumarappa. Published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Sir Phirozshah Mehta Road, Bombay. Pp. iii+72. Price As. 8.

This is No. 7 of the "Current Topics" series published by the Padma Publications, Ltd., and contains six chapters in which the authoress has given a short account of the activities and achievements of Japan and the Japanese. A description of the transition from feudalism to capitalism is followed by a brilliant account of Japanese painting, sculpture, music and drama and the position of women in the land of the rising sun. We have also an account of the trade union movement which followed the industrialisation of Japan and how it was practically crushed by the administration. A very readable description of the rise and development of large-scale industries stimulated by the Sino-Japanese, the Russo-Japanese and the last war shows how it was responsible for the search for raw materials and for new markets which led to the emergence of Japan as an imperialist power. The authoress has nothing but condemnation for Japan's new order and tells her readers how the social, economic and political organisation of the country is responsible for it. A point she makes is that totalitarianism is an indigenous growth and was inevitable. In the last chapter, there is an account of the recent southward drive of Japan in which connection the authoress draws the attention of her readers to the responsibility of Western capitalistic democracies for Japan's imperialism. The relevant facts and figures have been briefly but very ably set out and irrefutable conclusions drawn from them.

Written in the brilliant and colourful style for which Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya is well-known, she has written an eminently readable book in which she has compressed practically all essential information bearing on modern Japan and has performed her task in so attractive a manner that the reader experiences no difficulty in going through the book at one stretch. Special attention is drawn to her attack on imperialism, Western and Eastern, supported as it is by quotations from the pronouncements of eminent statesmen.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Jewel of India.—Published by Royal Book Stall, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2. Pp. 156. Price Re. 1-8.

The author, whose name is not disclosed, tells his readers that it is written to give the Indian and non-Indian, in a cheap and small volume, an idea of the manifold activities of this national leader, whom he regards as occupying a position just below that held by Mahatma Gandhi. Divided into nine sections, the one headed "Biographical" presents an account of Nehru's life, while an analysis of his mental and moral make-up appears in the "Personal" section. A brief account of the many different ways in which Jawaharlal has served India is found in the section "Activities." An estimate of his writings, claimed to be the first attempt in this direction, is also given. The position occupied by Nehru in the political life of India appears in the section "Next Only" where a comparison is instituted between him and Mahatma Gandhi and the loyalty of Nehru to our great leader is sought to be explained. In addition to a summary of the findings of the anonymous writer, we have, towards the end, a few pages in which are printed some of the outstanding utterances of Pundit Jawaharlal on the current social, economic and political problems of India.

Written by one who, it is evident, is a great admirer of India's second nationalist leader, the points made by the writer are illustrated by a wealth of quotations from different sources. The utter baselessness and falsity of charges

made against Nehru are also pointed out convincingly. The value of the book lies in the fact that it presents much of what is worth knowing about Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in a concise and interesting manner. Printed in good paper and well got-up, this small book is recommended to those who find it difficult to read Jawaharlal's autobiography.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

India and Imperial Preference.—By Dr. Balkrishna Madan, M.A., Ph.D.

In this book Dr. Madan has attempted the study of one of the most controversial economic problems of India. The policy of Imperial Preference has often raised important political issues and in the heat of controversy the economic aspects of the question have hardly received that dispassionate consideration which a complicated problem deserves. Dr. Madan has, however, kept the economic issue completely free from political bias. In discussing the complicated problems of preference and protection he has applied the instrument of economic analysis with commendable thoroughness and great precision. A considerable amount of statistical material has been brought to bear on the arguments:

Up to 1931 the question of Imperial Preference was generally in a theoretical stage with the exception of Steel and Cotton Industries Protection Acts which provided for the grant of preference to British goods. These Acts assured the Indian Steel and Cotton Industries the amount of protection required by them and at the same time gave preference to British goods. But, it was with the conclusion of the Ottawa Agreement that a general scheme of preference was introduced in favour of Great Britain. This Agreement, be it noted, was concluded at a time when the world was in the grip of a great economic depression and the share of Great Britain in the world trade was greatly shrinking. The object of the author has been to study the working of this Agreement and estimate its effects upon the direction and volume of India's foreign trade and upon Indian industries and consumers. Whereas, the object of protection is to encourage the domestic industries at the expense of those of foreign countries generally, the object of preference, however, is to encourage the trade of one foreign country at the expense of others. Indian industrialists and public men are generally protectionists and as such, it is not unnatural, that they should oppose a scheme of preference. But, it was from the point of view of the export trade that the scheme of preference was greatly opposed. It was contended that as the non-Empire countries were the biggest customers of Indian exports preference would interfere with the natural channels of trade and greatly diminish Indian exports to those countries. Dr. Madan has considered these arguments dispassionately. He has shown that the volume of imports of preferred articles from Great Britain increased by 30 per cent. during 1932-33 and 1935-36 and from other countries only by 8 per cent. The crucial question is, how the increase in the import of British goods has affected Indian industries. In so far as the protected industries were excluded from the scope of Ottawa preference only the minor industries could possibly be affected by the preferential tariff. Dr. Madan thinks that under the high level of revenue duties imposed after 1931 a large number of minor industries developed and "it is possible that some Indian industries might have been detrimentally affected by the lowering of the existing rate of duty on imports from the United Kingdom." But the absence of statistics regarding production in such industries prevents us from arriving at any definite conclusion on this aspect of the question.

The most important aspect of the scheme of preference is the burden upon the consumers. In so far as preference was given by raising the duties on competitive imports from foreign countries it is quite reasonable to argue that the consumers had to pay higher prices. But the trend of prices of imported

goods subject to preferential rates of duty appeared on the whole to be downward since the Ottawa Agreement came into operation. This fall in prices was part of a general tendency to falling prices in the case of manufactured articles. Dr. Madan has emphasised the difficulty of disentangling the effect of the preferences from other general factors and has concluded that "It is neither possible to determine the additional burden on the consumer if any, resulting from the preferences, nor to estimate the loss of revenue if any, that may have been involved thereby by a simple comparison of statistics of prices and actual revenue receipts before and after the introduction of preferential duties." Alarming estimates have been made of the burden on the consumer and the loss of revenue but these, according to Dr. Madan, do not bear scrutiny. Nevertheless, it is quite reasonable to maintain that in the absence of preferential duties the prices of imports could have fallen more and the consumers consequently had been penalised.

Turning to the export side the analysis of the author shows a decline of India's export trade with foreign countries but an increase with Great Britain. The decline is, however, attributed to the general tendency to autarchy on the continent of Europe and to currency and clearing agreements. Dr. Madan rightly points out that "Ottawa, however justified it might have been in the facts of the situation, was the signal for a general movement to a higher and intenser protection all over the world and did vast damage to the cause of economic internationalism. In this way it indirectly contributed to the decline of Indian exports to countries other than the United Kingdom." But the increase of the trade of India with the United Kingdom resulted in an economic advantage that cannot be ignored.

Another aspect of Dr. Madan's book deserves serious notice. His observations on the future outlook of India's economic life are stimulating. Attention has hitherto been given to agricultural exports to the neglect of other branches of India's economic life. The policies relating to agriculture, industry and trade should be fitted into one another so as to secure the development of a balanced economy. The book is carefully written and may be regarded as a valuable contribution to the economic literature of India.

R. M. CHAUDHURI

Archaeological Survey of Mysore.—Issued by Dr. M. H. Krishnan, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore. Annual Report for 1940—Pp. x + 216, with 26 Plates. Annual Report for 1941—Pp. xv + 285, with 26 Plates.

The Annual Reports of the Department of Archaeological Researches in Mysore are evidences of the excellent quality of work and the steady progress made by the Department under its present Director, Dr. Krishnan. The volumes under review record in full the activities of the Department in the fields of exploration and other branches of archaeological studies during the years 1939-40 and 1940-41. Part I in each of the volumes deals with the administrative side of the Department, II with Conservation of Monuments, III with study of monuments and sites of particular interest, IV with coins, V with manuscripts and VI with inscriptions. Each important monument and the newly discovered coins, manuscripts and inscriptions have been dealt with in a thorough and exhaustive way.

In the sections dealing with monuments a number of temples and other structures has been described together with an endless variety of sculptured images. From the point of temple construction Mysore seems to have been a veritable laboratory from quite an early age where architects made experiments with structures of various types. Among the temples in Mysore can be enumerated most of the South Indian temple types which evolved under the Pallavas, the Cōlas, the Cālukyas, the Gaṅgas, the Hoysālas and the Vijayanagar Dynasty. The important temples and a number of other structures have been described

with their location and short history and in some cases with elaborate plans, sketches and illustrations which have enhanced the value of the publication to a great extent. There are also a few plates illustrating a number of sculptured figures not many of which, however, are of any aesthetic merit though some have great iconographic value.

Of the minor antiquities described in this section, mention may be made of the bronze tripods found in the Cannakesava temple at Belur (Pl. xx, figs 2-4).

Two ancient sites were prospected for excavation during this period, one at Brahmagiri (1939-40) reputed for its Aśōkan edicts and the other at Hungunda, (1940-41) near the gold fields. From these places have been found old beads, fragments of pottery, cromlechs and various other remains of ancient times which suggest the possibility of the existence of important historic and pre-historic settlements near about these sites. Extensive excavations in future may expose remains of immense historical value.

Under the numismatic section there is notice of about 83 coins (39 in 1939-40 and 44 in 1940-41) representing the Pallavas, the Ceras, the Cālukyas and the Kadambas. There are different types of coins belonging to each dynasty, and the author has made an interesting study with the elephant types of coins of three different dynasties; the Andhras, the Ceras and the Gaṅgas of Mysore.

During 1939-40 were discovered some 22 manuscripts, most of which will, however, appear insignificant in comparison with one, treated in full in the report of 1940-41. This one is a letter (Kodagina kaifiat) sent by Vira Rajendra Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg to the British, sometime about 1799. The letter will be read with interest as a document throwing light on the relationship between the Raja of Coorg and the British just after the fall of Seringapatam.

In the epigraphy section there are about 100 inscriptions, dealt in great detail. Most of the inscriptions are in local Kannāda language but some also exist in Sanskrit and in Devanagari script. The inscriptions will not be considered of any outstanding value but some are found to contain interesting information of social and religious importance.

The Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore are more or less regularly published and are considered valuable records of progress made in the fields of archaeological researches in India.

KALYAN K. GANGULI

The Crisis of the Modern World.—By Rene Guenon. Translated by Arthur Osborne. Published by Luzac & Co., London. Price Rs. 3-8.

Rene Guenon is proclaimed by a reviewer quoted on the dust-cover of the book as "one of the few writers of our time whose work is really of importance." Whether or not we agree with this, there can be no doubt about his courage. In a scientific and Marxist age he declares war on almost every tendency and movement of the present day. He will have no truck with Evolution; on the contrary, he firmly believes in the traditions of a golden age, and of Atlantis; and that the world has now reached the last stages of the *Kali-Yuga*. He has no use for the Inductive Method. "A true understanding can only come from above and not from below: and this should be taken in a twofold sense: the work must begin from what is highest, that is to say from the principles, and descend gradually to the various orders of application, always keeping rigorously to the hierarchical dependence that exists between them; and it must also of necessity be the work of an elect in the truest and most complete meaning of this word; by this we mean exclusively and intellectual elect, and in reality, there can be no other" (p. 45). Naturally therefore he has no use for physical science as now practised; astronomy and chemistry are mere aberrations or degenerations from astrology and alchemy. He gives

similarly short shrift to democracy. The West will only achieve a "normal" society by returning to a strict caste system.

The author makes many shrewd and just criticisms of modern Western civilization, with its tendency to ignore all but material ends, its acquisitiveness, its creation of artificial wants, and even its denial in some cases that anything but the material is real at all. But he spoils his case by gross over-statement and by his passion for a purely *a priori*, Esoteric "Science." It is not true as he suggests (pp. 64 f.) that modern physicists and chemists are working in complete isolation from each other, entirely immersed in insignificant details. Many Western thinkers from Plato to Leibnitz have hankered after a complete deductive system of science such as he describes, but it is surely something more than mere degenerate materialism which has caused thinkers to turn more and more away from this pursuit. And ever since Pythagoras the common man has been rightly suspicious of rigid social hierarchies founded on supposed merit and secret knowledge of the rulers. Nature does not always, as Aristotle admitted, succeed in giving the slave a proper servile nature.

M. Guenon admires the Middle Ages of Europe, in which he contends a "normal order" was re-established, for a time. But does the cold light of history reveal it as a much more settled or happy age than that of turbulent modern Europe? Far more reasonable surely is the attitude of many other thinkers, among whom T. E. Hulme was a conspicuous pioneer, to turn back to the Middle Ages to recover its sense of man's dependence and limitation in the moral and religious sphere, rather than its exaltation of *a priori* knowledge at the expense of physical enquiry.

Whatever one may think of the argument of the book, the thought is admirably lucid, and the translation seems to be excellent.

C. S. MILFORD

Ourselves

[I. Representative of the Faculty of Engineering on the Syndicate.—II. Dates of University Examinations.—III. Asutosh Museum Notes.—IV. Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize in Law for 1941.—V. Results of the Matriculation Examination, 1943.]

I. REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FACULTY OF ENGINEERING ON THE SYNDICATE

At a meeting of the above Faculty Mr. C. V. Miller, A.C.G.I., B.Sc., A.M.I.Struct.E., was elected to the Syndicate for the remaining period of the current session in place of Dr. A. H. Pandya who had resigned his office as an Ordinary Fellow of this University.

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II. DATES OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The commencing dates of the undermentioned examinations have been fixed as follows:—

1. D.P.H. (Part I) Examination ... 22nd September, 1943
2. D.P.H. (Part II) Examination ... 15th November, 1943
3. M.B. Examination ... 22nd November, 1943
4. M.L. Examination ... 13th December, 1943
5. Diploma in Spoken English Examination ... 20th December, 1943

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III. ASUTOSH MUSEUM NOTES

Report of the Art Appreciation Course, 1943

The second term of the Art Appreciation Course opened on the 20th May and continued till the 19th July, 1943. Altogether thirteen students availed of it. Three of them were lady students and the majority were trained artists. It should be noted that one of them is an Art teacher in the Raisina Bengali High School and College, New Delhi. All the lectures delivered during the term were in Bengali. The theoretical subjects upon which lectures were delivered were general principles of art, European cultures and paintings, analysis of art, principles of Indian art, Indian sculpture, painting and architecture, applied arts, European architecture. The lecturers were Prof. O. C. Ganguli, Mr. D. P. Ghosh and Mr. K. K. Ganguli. The practical classes were held by Mr. A. G. Sen.

By way of doing practical work in the class as well as in the examination, the students produced 81 objects and designs in clay-modelling, pottery, leather work, embroidery, fresco, paper-cut, lino-cut, stencil-cut and painting.

Besides lectures on the regular subjects of the course, there were several special lectures and some public lectures organised by the Museum. The special lectures were on general principles of education, place of art in Education, minor arts of India, Egyptian architecture, Egyptian sculpture, craftsmanship in the West, Persian painting and Indian culture. The lecturers included Mr. A. N. Basu, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. A. K. Haldar, Mr. S. K. Saraswati, Mr. R. N. Chakravarti, Dr. S. Kramrisch, Mr. K. G. Goswami. The public lectures were on art of the Greeks, Negro art, categories of Aesthetics, Gothic art, Muslim art and Indian sculpture, the lecturers being Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. B. K. Sarkar, Mrs. S. Bhattacharjee, Prof. M. Huq and Dr. S. Kramrisch.

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IV. ONAUTENAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE IN LAW FOR 1941

On the recommendations of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter, M.Sc., M.L., the Syndicate has recommended to the Senate the award of the above prize to Mr. Girijabhusan Joshi, M.A. His thesis was entitled "The Law of Private Defence in British India."

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V. RESULTS OF THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1943

The number of candidates registered for the above examination was 39,891 of whom 442 were absent and 9 disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 38,326 of whom 169 were expelled. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 22,774 of whom 2,148 passed in the First Division, 4,946 in the Second Division and 15,642 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 59.4 ; that in 1942 was 62.5.

NOTIFICATION

Education Department, Bengal

Rajshahi, the 6th July, 1943

Brajamohan Prize for Indian Ladies for the year 1942-43

The following subject has been selected for "Babu Brajamohan Prize" of Rs. 45 for the year 1942-43 :—

Aswini Kumar Dutt—A Critical Study.

The conditions for the award of the prize are—

- (1) That the competition be open to all educated women, being natives of Bengal, without regard to age.
- (2) That the prize of Rs. 45 be given for an essay to be written either in Bengali or in Sanskrit.
- (3) That the essays be sent to the Provincial Text-book Committee for adjudication within six months of the date of advertisement.
- (4) That each essay be accompanied by a written declaration from the husband, parent or guardian of the competitor that, to the best of his belief, she has received no assistance of any kind, direct or indirect, in writing the essay.

Candidates are requested to send their essays to the Secretary to the Provincial Text-book Committee, C/o Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Rajshahi. The envelope containing the essay should be superscribed "Brajamohan Dutt Prize Essay." The name of the successful competitor will be published in the Calcutta Gazette.

A lady who wins the prize in any year is not debarred from subsequent competition, and if the essay submitted by a competitor who has been previously successful is adjudged to be the best, the name of such a competitor will be published in the Gazette as the winner of the competition. The actual prize will, however, in these circumstances, be awarded to the competitor whose essay is adjudged to stand next in order of merit, provided that her essay comes up to the standard required by the next clause.

If none of the essays comes up to a standard which is, in the opinion of the Examiners, adequate, no prize will be awarded.

W. H. JENKINS,

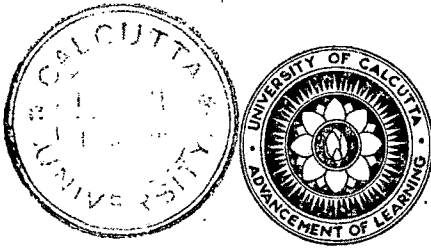
Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

(Published in the Calcutta Gazette, dated the 22nd July, 1943.)

On the occasion of the 160th Anniversary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the Council have decided to sell the Society's publications (including Bibliotheca Indica) to the general public at a discount of 25 per cent. This offer will remain open upto the end of January, 1944. Price list of books may be sent on request.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

1, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1943

“ PUNJAB RECRUITMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST WAR ”

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

II

THE EIGHT LESS PRODUCTIVE DISTRICTS

WE shall now consider the case of the next eight districts, *viz.*, Amritsar, Gujrat, Jullunder, Hissar, Attock, Shahpur, Sialkot and Gurgaon.

While some of these districts have light sandy and others somewhat fertile soil and many districts inadequate rainfall, and unfavourable factor common to all in the days with which we are concerned here was limited canal irrigation the result being that the agriculturists were compelled to have recourse to irrigation from wells. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* this was “ largely impossible or unprofitable owing to the depth of the water below the surface.” As we proceed, we shall find that want compelled the peasantry of many of these districts in this group to undertake back-breaking labour in order to extract their living from the land. Another characteristic, common to all, was the undue pressure on the land leading to loss of population all which proves the unsatisfactory economic condition of the people inhabiting these districts.

From what has appeared already, the reader must have realised that unsatisfactory economic condition is, in the opinion of the present writer, the deciding factor in encouraging recruitment. In that connection, attention has been drawn to the unfertility of the soil and the lack of irrigation facilities in the six districts already dealt with. On the face of it, Amritsar appears to be an exception to this rule.

The first thing which strikes the careless observer is the fertility of the soil which can be cultivated profitably as the average rainfall is 24 inches.

In those days, canal irrigation took care of 40 per cent. and well irrigation of 30 per cent. of the crops. Fully 82 per cent. of the total area was under cultivation while 24 per cent. of the area was double-cropped. All these facts taken together should lead to the obvious conclusion that the economic condition of the rural population must have been satisfactory.

But when we consider another set of facts, we have to revise this opinion. While from one point of view, the cultivation of 82 per cent. of the total area and, double cropping of 24 per cent. prove the skill of the farmer, they also lend colour to the view that this, in a country like India, might have been due to pressure of population. As a matter of fact, the agriculturists of Amritsar district have been compelled to cultivate the less fertile parts in order to feed themselves and the well-known economic law of diminishing returns had come into operation long before the last war had broken out.

And proof of this lies in the fact that in the inter-district exchange of population, so common a phenomenon in our motherland, those who left Amritsar presumably to earn their living elsewhere were much larger in number than those who came from outside and settled in it. According to the Census Report for 1921 (*Census of India, 1921, Vol. XV., Part I, p. 98*) after deducting the number of those who had left the district, we find that in 1911, Amritsar suffered a loss of 124,774 and in 1921, a loss of 115,717 souls.

The undue pressure of population on the limited resources of the district leading to the emigration of its inhabitants, can be proved by another set of figures which appear on page 97 of the Census Report mentioned previously. These are concerned with the density of population per square mile. The figures to which the special attention of the reader is called are as follows:—1901—643; 1911—883; 1921—467. It therefore appears that in 20 years the density of population per square mile has diminished to the extent of 176. Even so, the density per square mile in 1921 was more than 11½ times the average for the Punjab.

It thus appears that in spite of the favourable circumstances of Amritsar, the economic condition of the agriculturists was not at all good and this, it is contended, encouraged their enlistment in the army.

We have already commented on the backward economic condition of Hoshiarpur due to the comparative barrenness of the soil and lack of irrigation facilities. Amritsar which is quite different from Hoshiarpur in these two respects had in 1915 about the same number of males of military age. The actual figures for these people as supplied by Mr. M. S. Leigh, I.C.S., in his *Punjab and the War* are 153,000 for Hoshiarpur and 152,300 for Amritsar. The number of soldiers contributed by the former on the 1st

January, 1915, was 5,901 or roughly 4 per cent. and by the latter 5,328 or roughly 3.5 per cent. of the above number. When, with the signing of the Armistice in November, 1918, the war came to an end, it was found that where Hoshiarpur had contributed 21,153 men out of a total of 153,000 males of military age to the army, Amritsar with 700 less males of military age had sent 23,500 of its young men to the colours which is nearly 15.5 per cent. of its men of the same class.

Judging from these two sets of figures, it does not appear that there is much to choose between these two areas so far as recruitment is concerned. It is the contention of the present writer that this was due to identical causes, the economic backwardness of the agriculturists of these districts.

In the case of Gujrat district, we find that a little over 50 per cent. of the land were under cultivation and that about 20 per cent. of the crops were raised under canal irrigation while irrigation from wells looked after 15 per cent. of the crops. In this connection the present writer has to inform his readers that the major part of the irrigation facilities referred to here was made available to the district late in 1915. This therefore can hardly be taken into account in deciding whether it had any bearing on recruitment for the advantages accruing from it had not made themselves feel when the war started.

Gujrat district was maintaining a population of nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. It is needless to state that this entailed hardship as may be inferred from the fact that the population density per square mile was so high as 322 that is 8 times the average density for the whole province. The Census Commissioner for the Punjab for 1921 said in his report that "there can be little doubt that pressure of population is very severe in this district." Continuing he stated, "It may be safely asserted that Gujrat has become dangerously congested."

It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that economic pressure resulting from the inability of the district to support the people inhabiting it was a very important factor in inducing the young, the able-bodied and the adventurous among them to better their condition by the acceptance of military service.

The correctness of this view is proved by the fact that towards the end of the war, Gujrat had sent 27,335 men out of a total of 129,000 males of military age which is 21.2 per cent. of this number.

So far as Jullunder is concerned, we note that it had no canal irrigation but that 54 per cent. of the crops produced in it was under well irrigation. The peasants here are very hard-working, and in spite of the fact that all the crops have to be irrigated from wells, it is one of the best cultivated

districts of the Punjab. About 70 per cent. of the total area has been brought under the plough and the adoption by the farmers of intensive cultivation together with their laborious habits, explains their success. It is admitted that these farmers would have brought a larger area under cultivation if it had been profitable to do so. The 30 per cent. land which is not cultivated remains in that condition only because experience has shown that in spite of unremitting labour, it is impossible to make the cultivation pay.

That one of the reasons for intensive cultivation is excessive pressure of the population on land is proved when we remember that in this district the average number of persons per square mile was 493 which is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ times the average density of population for the province of the Punjab. Still another fact which supports the above opinion is that, according to the authorities, "the population has remained practically stationary for over forty years" counting them from 1921 back. (*Census of India, 1921, Vol. XV., Part I., p. 36*).

It therefore appears that the effects of the fertility of the soil have been more than upset by the population which draws its support from it. The inference one is justified in drawing from all these facts is that, in spite of hard labour on fertile land, the economic condition of the agricultural masses was unsatisfactory and soldiering provided a welcome and easy means of earning money, escaping very hard work and probably semi-starvation. In this connection there is the significant fact that by the end of the war, this district contributed 16,404 men which is nearly 12 per cent. of its total male population of military age.

In district Hissar, 16 per cent. of the matured crops were raised under canal irrigation and about 70 per cent. of the total area was cultivated. According to the report of the Agriculture Department it has a very "poor soil." We are also informed that "absence of irrigation and a light rainfall render the crops peculiarly liable to failure."

This dependence on rain, a most uncertain factor, causes, according to the Census Report referred to more than once previously "violent fluctuations" in the outturn. The result of this uncertainty has been summed up by saying that a district subject to them cannot support the same number of people as other districts which give the same average outturn but are less liable to fluctuation from year to year.

In spite of these disadvantages, the density per square mile was 157, i.e., nearly four times the average for the Punjab, while it had a population of over 8 lakhs. No wonder the adventurous among the ill-fed and half-naked people were only too glad to join the army if only to escape their miseries. By the time the war came to an end, Hissar had sent 18,400 i.e., nearly 14 per cent. of its males of military age to the army.

Attock had only 1 per cent. of its crops under canal and 8 per cent. of its crops under well irrigation. It resembles Rawalpindi and Jhelum as the district contains many low hills with much unfertile land. The result is that only about 33 per cent. of the total area was under cultivation. Like Hissar and Jhelum, it has to depend to a very large extent on rain. This is so uncertain in character that a year of comparative plenty nearly always alternates with years of scarcity occasionally deteriorating into actual famine conditions.

In spite of all these disadvantages, this district had a density of 124 souls per square mile which is slightly more than three times the average for the province. That this unfertile district was not capable of supporting anything like an adequate population may be inferred from the fact that whereas the average population of the Punjab district was about ten lakhs the population of Attock was about half this number.

Where Hissar standing tenth in our list with a population of a little more than a lakh and a quarter of military age contributed about 3,000 soldiers, Attock with a male population of military age of 83,700 sent about 200 men less which indirectly proves the backward economic condition of this district. It is also equally significant that whereas Hissar had sent 18,400, Attock had contributed 18,851 men to the army by the time hostilities had come to an end and that where the percentage of the former had been about 14 that of the latter was 22.5 of the males of military age.

It is perfectly true that when war broke out, there was canal irrigation in Shahpur district. It should, however, be pointed out that though about 50 per cent. of the crops were raised under it, about 39 per cent. only of the total area were under cultivation which is clear proof of the unsuitability of the soil of the major portion of the district for agriculture. Before the end of the war, this district had contributed 15,500, *i.e.*, nearly 14.5 per cent. of its males of military age to the army.

If the contention of the present writer that poverty was the deciding factor in taking men into the army is correct, the best evidence which can be offered in support of this theory would be to show that all or nearly all the soldiers drawn from this district came from its least fertile part which did not enjoy irrigation facilities. It is surprising to find this corroborated by actual facts for, according to information in the possession of the present writer, a majority of the soldiers drawn from this district belonged to the *Khusab tahsil* which did not enjoy canal irrigation.

Sialkot district had received canal irrigation in 1912, that is to say, about two years before the war but only 5 per cent. of the matured crops benefited from it. Well irrigation was responsible for 48 per cent. of the matured crops. Nearly 70 per cent. of the total area was under cultivation

while the population the district had to support was about 9 lakhs resulting in extreme density which was 479 to the square mile, that is to say, about 12 times the average density of the province. The means of subsistence are so limited that, according to the Punjab Census for 1921, "the population has remained practically stationary for the last 40 years" (1881-1921). All these facts taken together show that the people here could not reap the benefits of irrigation in the shape of accumulating reserves consisting of money, cattle or stored-up food to ensure their economic prosperity. With them, it was nothing but a hand-to-mouth existence.

On the 1st January, 1915, there were 2,709 combatants from this district in the army but by November, 1918, the number had swelled to 15,339.

In Gurgaon district, 6 per cent. of the matured crops only were raised under canal and 11 per cent. under well irrigation. Though 68 per cent. of the total area was under cultivation, the poverty of the light sandy soil was responsible for the cultivation of wheat, the main food grain of the Punjab, in 7 per cent. only of the area under the plough. The returns of the 63 per cent. of land under other and poorer crops were, and still continue to be, almost always insufficient. Gurgaon and its adjacent district Hissar continue to be regarded even to-day as areas where the normal condition is scarcity alternating with downright famine from time to time. In spite of the poor-ness of the soil and the inadequacy of canal irrigation, it had to support a population of nearly 7 lakhs. The density of population was 275 per square mile which is nearly 8 times the average for the Punjab.

The Census authorities have admitted that there is serious overcrowding in the district. The result of the pressure of population on the land is extreme poverty. A very significant proof of this is found in the fact that this district lost 10 per cent. of its population in the 40 years between 1881 and 1921. Starvation or something approaching it compelled them to leave their native district and to emigrate. This is a sufficiently good reason for impelling the young and able-bodied among them to seek service in the army.

The total number of men from this district who were in the army when fighting came to an end in November, 1918, was 20,181 out of a total of 124,290 males of military age, the percentage being 16.2.

Taking all these eight districts together in every one of which there was economic distress, we find that, between them, they had, at the time the war had broken out, contributed 27,043 men which constituted, more than 33.7 per cent. of the Punjab section of the Indian Army.

Referring to the Punjab as a whole and specially to the area generally covered by the 14 districts which have been dealt with so far, an Englishman, a member of the Indian Civil Service and a very reliable investigator

into the economic condition of the rural masses of this province said in 1928 in his book "The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt,"

"No one can doubt that the supreme need of the country is food, more food and still more food."

It is the view of the present writer that it was poverty leading to the lack of an adequate amount of nourishing food which was one of the principal reasons for the large number of soldiers drawn from these 14 districts.

THE GENESIS OF MUSIC IN ARABIA

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MUSIC is the eternal language of man; and the Arabs were no exception. On the contrary they were essentially a musical people. Arabian vocabulary contains a number of words signifying music. The most common words to denote music were *Mūsīqī*,¹ *Sam'a* and *Ghinā'*. Hijāz was a land of commercial importance at the beginning of the Christian era. Mecca which was known as "Makaeruba" was the centre of attraction for all neighbouring peoples. Medina which was called Yathrib was the settling ground of the immigrants. These three cities served like tribal centres. The Ka'ba together with its fair at 'Ukkāz was a sort of national rendezvous where "the poets and minstrels from all parts of the peninsula vied with each other for the supremacy of their art."

* The word Music has been used to denote songs with or without instruments.

¹ *Mūsīqī* (موسيقى) is a classical word derived from Greek root and was current in Arabic at the time of Ishāq-ul-Mawṣilī (d. 236 A.H.). The author of *Ikhwānus-Safā* says that the word came to Arabic language from Greek and it forms a part of the science of sound. ('*Ilm-ul-Laḥan*'). (Consult the Persian edition, *Ikhwānus Safā* by Maulānā Aḥmad, a descendant of Imām Ja'far Sādiq, 1304 A.H.). "In *Mafātīḥ-ul-'Ulūm* (4th cent. A.H.), *Mūsīqī* is one of the four mathematical sciences." *Mūsīqī* also denotes the (science of composing) melodies (*al-Laḥn*). It is a Greek word and it also means the *Mutrib* (Musician). And the composer of the melodies is the *Mūsīqār*.² *Ikhwānus Safā* says:— "*Mūsīqī* is *ghinā'*, and *Mūsīqār* is the *Mughannī* and the *Mūsīqār* (*musiqariya* in dieteriel) is the name given to the Greek mathematical theory of music as distinct from "*Ilm-ul-ghinā'*," which is the Arabian practical theory of music as we know from *Kitābul Aghānī*. Of course Yahyā bin 'Alī bin Abī Mansūr (d. 300 A.H.) made a distinction between 'Arabian *Ghinā'* and Greek *Mūsīqī*. (*Encyclopedia of Islām* III, pp. 749-755).

Regarding *Ghinā'*;—the supplementary volume of the *Encyclopedia of Islām*, p. 81, writes *غناء* (*Ghinā'*) is a generic term signifying song. Author of *Ikhwānus Safā* (Bombay Ed. I, p. 87) says, '*Mūsīqī* is *ghinā'*' and *Mūsīqār* is *Mughannī* and *Mūsīqāriya* is the instrument of music (*Ghinā'*). In Assyrian, *anah* stands for song; in Hebrew *nehi* is 'to lament' and Arabic *nauḥ* is a lamentary song.

The author of *Ghiyāthul Lughāt* says that "*Sam*" is a Syriac word. (Consult Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 423). *Sam'a* is an infinitive like *Sam'* and *Sim'* of the root س-م-ع and means 'learning' often passing with the thing heard like music; and it also refers to learning music; some times denotes "*istimā'*" listening; (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1427 b, 1429 b). It does not occur in the Qu'rān but belongs to old Arabic to mean 'a singing or musical performance.' In Lexicography, *Sam'a* is what is received on authority as opposed to what is *qiyāsi* (analogical). In theology, it is opposed to what reason ('*aql*'). In Sūfi sense, it is opposed to listening to music, singing, chanting, measured recitation, religious emotion, ecstasy (*Wajd*).

Here are certain words connected with Music:—

Ghinā'—Song; *Mughannī*—musician, a singer.

Tarab—Music; *Mutrib*—musician.

Laḥw—entertainment; *laḥn*—melody.

Milḥa (*Milhi*)—musical instrument;

ṣaut—verses set to music or vocal music.

It was here that the famous *Mu'allaqāt* (suspended poems) were recited or sung. Singing girls (*qainat* or *qiyān*) were common in the social life of Arabia. Of their instruments in pre-Muslim days, we hear mention of *Mizmār* (lute), *Mi'zafā* (psalter), *qussābā* (flute), *Mizmār* (also reed pipe) and *Duff* (tambourine).

The city of *Hira* was the repository of the ancient Babylonian—Assyrian culture. The renown of *Hira* was so great that even *Bahrām Gur* (430-38 A.D.) the Persian king, when a prince, was sent to *Hira* to be educated; there *Bahrām* was taught music as a part of his education. Influence of the city of *Hira* is considerable on Arabic civilisation and a distinguishing mark of the importance of *Hira* was her progress in Music and Poetry. In pre-Muslim Arabia, it was through music that soothsayers and enchanters always used their occult powers whatever they might be, and the *Jinn* (Spirit) was supposed to be brought under control by the influence of music.

In the *Jāhi-liyā* period (days of Ignorance, Idolatry), the Hajj (pilgrimage) to the various *Ka'bas* was accompanied with primitive musical chantings which still survive in the *Tahlil* and *Talvīh*.² The verse—*"Ashriq thabir Qaima nu ghir,"*—which is still sung during the Hajj on the occasion of *Ifādā* to *Mina*, is an interesting survival of pagan manners.³ Poetry and music were closely connected amongst primitive peoples because they had to remember things by means of poems set to music as an aid to memory. Common type of pre-Islāmic Arabic poetry were hymns to idols, songs to beseech water before fountains and war-songs.

Arab women were conspicuous for their freedom of movement in pre-Muslim days. There was no '*ḥarām*' (seclusion). They often joined men in their merry parties and enlivened their journey during wars by singing war songs⁴ as we find at *Uhad* (625 A.D.). In the words of Nicholson, "wise women inspired the poets to sing and warriors to fight."

Services of female singers were specially requisitioned for beseeching favour of gods and deities in case of draught and famines in Arabia. That is why the singing girl was often called '*Dajina*' or '*Mudjina*' from their habit of singing songs.⁵

² Syed Ahmad Khan, *Manners and customs of the Pre-Islamic Arabians*, p. 15.

³ *Encyclopedia of Islām* II, p. 200. "*Adhān*" (call for prayer in a particular mode) is a survival of a pre-Muslim custom, *Al-Bukhārī* I, 359.

⁴ Muir, *Muhammad*, p. 259.

⁵ Nicholson, R.A. *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 88.

Singing girls⁶ were employed in the taverns for the entertainment of visitors. Pre-Islāmic Arabic literature is full of praise for these tavern girls.⁷ Arabic literature is full of praise of these singing girls of taverns, and their flowing cups, alluring harps and delightful cheers. Their influence was utilised by enemies of Islām against the early Muslims to seduce people by singing satires, reproaches and invectives. That is why in the early days of Islām, there are so many references against singing girls, their teachings, arts, professions, and their instruments.⁸

The names of the following musicians have come to us from the famous books of Abu'l Farj Isfahānī, 'Abd Rabbihi, Al-Mas'ūdī, as also from the stray references in the Qu'rān :—

- (1) Naḍr bin Hārith, a descendant of the famous Qusaiyā a cousin of the Prophet; he has been referred to in the commentaries of the Qu'rān frequently.⁹
- (2) Mālik ibn Zu'bair who led a deputation of the Banū Tai' to the Prophet in 630 A.D.¹⁰
- (3) Muḥalhil (Adi bin Rabi'ah—of the Banū Tughlib, who was very famous for his sweet voice.¹¹
- (4) Hurāirah—a musician in the service of Bishr bin 'Amr.¹²
- (5) Khulaida—a musician of Bishr bin 'Amr.¹³
- (6) Bital bin Riyah al Habashī with whom the Prophet had personal conversation,¹⁴ ransomed by Abū Bakr.
- (7) Shīrīn—a slave girl of Ḥasan bin Thābit.¹⁵
- (8) Sārā, who was converted to Islām.¹⁶
- (9) Qurainā, who was executed.¹⁷
- (10) Qarīlea, who escaped death.

⁶ Farmer H. G., Influence of music from Arabic sources, p. 9.

⁷ Von Kremer is of opinion that these girls belonged to Greece and Persia and were not Arabian and that Ṭwais was the first to sing in Arabia. But this is not supported by Kitābul Aghānī, IX., p. 164. Huda or caravan song is as old as the Arabian camel.

Ka'ab bin Zubair recited this poem before the Prophet :—

Wa mā su'ado-ghadāt-al-bain-i-iz rahalu
illā aghanna-ghadheedh-at-tarf-i-makhulu.

وَمَا سَعَادَ عَدَاةَ الْبَيْنِ إِذْ رَحَلُوا
إِلَّا أَعْنَّ غَضِيضَ الطَّرْفِ مَكْحُولُ

⁸ Pre-Islāmic musical instruments were :—mizmār, qussaha, sur, naqūr, tabe, duff, surj, jalājil.

⁹ Muḥammad Ali, Al-Qu'rān, p.

¹⁰ Kitābul Aghānī, XVI, p. 46.

¹¹ J.R.A.S., 1925, p. 422.

¹² Al-Mas'ūdī, III, p. 296.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Evliya Chelebi, Travels, I, II, 91.

¹⁵ Al Hu'jwari, Kashf-ul-Mahjūb, p. 411.

¹⁶ Muir, Mohammad, p. 411.

¹⁷ At-Tabarī, I, p. 4626. (Al-Ṭibrī).

Eviliya Chelebi, the famous Turkish traveller, has in his Travels mentioned the names of:—

- (1) 'Amr bin Ummayyā who played Dā'ira at the wedding of 'Alī. He is the same Bābā 'Amr who is regarded as the patron saint of the Tambourine players.
- (2) Hamzā bin Yatīm is mentioned as co-singer of Bilāl the Mua'dhdhin of the Prophet.
- (3) Bābā Sawāndik who played the kettledrum in military expeditions of the Prophet.¹⁸

Retrospect—

On the whole the entire culture of pre-Islāmic Arabia centred round their pleasers, joys, poets, music, singing girls and musical soires. It is no wonder if consciously or unconsciously a large part of the cultural life of the Arabs survived in spite of their acceptance of Islām which is supposed to condemn music, as was the case with the Turks, who even after their conversion to the faith of Muḥammad, clung to many of their tribal customs some of which were contrary to the precepts of Islām.

WYSTAN HUGH AUDEN : A STUDY

SIB NARAYAN RAY

I

W. H. Auden left England for America and became a bone for critics. To the immaculate dons, nothing could be unexpected from one who was, so they judged, neither an Englishman nor a poet. To his admirers, it was a bad mess, the betrayal of the 'Coupon-cutter' at the hour of test. Few people saw in it the nadir of a graph of temperament that was apparent even in the very early writings of the man. Not many saw in the American flight an extended point of the curve that began (within the limited space of Auden's published writings) in the charade *Paid on Both Sides*, took a slight flat lift in the *Dance of Death*, deepened in the *Ascent of F6*, the *Dog Beneath the Skin*, and in *On the Frontier*, took another determined upward turn in *Spain*, in *Letters from Iceland* and in *Journey to a War*, got nervous, hesitated and took a backward, bewildered twist in the *New Year Letter* and *Another Time*. The entire movement is characterised by conflict between a constitutional incapacity for motor response and an honest effort to be dynamic in approach, by a painful consciousness of conflict and a resolve to outgrow it. The result is indeterminateness.

And the fatigued face
Taking the strain
Of the horizontal force
And the vertical thrust
Makes random answer
To the Crucial test.

(Poems VI, p. 48)

II

From the beginning, Auden's imagination is dark with a brooding sense of Fate. The graph of conduct runs between the two axes of old ingrams and new values. The dying past spreads its tentacles round the heart of the individual, who senses death, resists but is divided within himself between past memories and dreams of future. He knows in what tangle he has got involved. He wants to fight against fatality.

Have things gone too far already? Are we done for? Must we wait
Hearing doom's approaching footsteps regular down miles of straight

(Poems, p. 75).

He wants to resist "the lure of the compelling logic" of those decadents who ask him to surrender before the forces of doom. "Doom is dark and deeper than any sea dingle" (*Ib.*, p. 43). But one who is conscious of the tremendous wastage of life finds little emotional kick in despair.

Nor even is despair your own, when swiftly
Comes general assault on your ideas of safety :
That sense of famine, central anguish felt
For goodness wasted at peripheral fault. (*Ib.*, p. 45).

He loves life and yearns for "a new style of architecture, a change of heart" (*Ib.*, p. 89). He even tries to persuade himself to action. "If we really want to live, we'd better start at once to try" (*Ib.*, p. 76). But this self-persuasion has a falsetto ring. The real attitude comes out in the painful admission :

For every news
Means pairing off in twos and twos.
Another I, another you
Each knowing what to do
But of no use. (*Ib.*, p. 37).

III

The one recurrent theme in Auden's ironic universe is the fatal influence of earlier generations on the later ones, which, considered from the angle of individual psychology, may be stated as mother's influence on children. The influence is almost deterministic; almost in every case, the end is frustration, ruin and tragedy. The poet can intellectually conceive of a free bright future, but cannot emotionally feel it.

In the charade *Paid on Both Sides*, death (operating through Joan, the hero's mother, instigating revenge) finally triumphs over Eros (expressing itself through love and desire for peace in the hearts of John Nower and Anne Shaw).

Though he believes it, no man is strong
* * * *
But he is defeated
* * * *
His mother and her mother won. (Poems, p. 37).

The mother's ominous reminder of "a new beginning An unforgiving morning" (p. 12) has done its work: try how they may, youth cannot "betray the dead" (p. 22). Past preys upon future: social mortmain strangles individual dreams. Life can win only through a liquidation of past legacies which operate in memory. As Bo, the witness, cries pathetically out:

In these days—during the migrations, days
 Freshening with rain reported from the mountain
 By loss of memory we are reborn
 For memory is death.

(Poems, p. 22).

The triumph of race-hatred over youthful idealism is not, however, morally absolute. For unlike in Eliot, Auden's chief protagonists can love. Eros has at least won in the heart of the individual though it may be defeated in social behaviour.

And yet the external defeat has a note of finality about it. It is argued that this note is true to contemporary society. But a large part of contemporary society has grown conscious of the anarchy and fatalism of the exhausted social structure and is moving towards a re-organisation of it so that this anarchy may be got rid of. A direct emotional and active contact with this ever-strengthening movement alone can give a vital note of hope to the tragic presentation of our existence. Auden fails to establish this contact. A key to this failure may be found in the fact that Auden's approach to life is individualistic: in his presentation, life, love and goodness operate through individuals, while death, race, memory and hatred work through institutions or collective actions. Hence the individual fails. This tragic individualism may be traced to the fact that, in spite of strenuous effort, Auden has not been able to extricate himself from the dying system. He seeks to resist the lure of "Newman, Plato, Pascal, Baudelaire, Freud, Sadé and Flaubert," but he cannot help recognising them as his kin in spirit. All his personal fight is against the Enemy, and the Enemy is within his heart. The whole of the *Orators*, a medley of prose and verse, is a sustained attempt to fight the Enemy at as many bases of its operation as possible and though the epilogue is somewhat in the nature of tour de force, Auden's fight against fear and inertia is thorough and earnest. And yet though the sabre-strokes are dextrous, they cut through the air and are futile. The rider whips the sky but where is the horse to run?

IV

Auden's tragic presentation of modern society is thus essentially fatalistic. Even when he presents the triumph of life over death, the lift in

tone is a flat stretch and the move is bare and staccato. It lacks in a sense of social urgency. Thus in the *Dance of Death*, inspite of big announcement, the carrying out of the theme is mechanical and unconvincing. Says the Announcer : " We present to you this evening a picture of the decline of a class, of how its members dream of a new life, but secretly desire the old, for there is death inside them. We show that death as dancer " (p. 7). The chorus cries out : " Our death." Contact with the cold waters of the sea starts in the chorus the self-questioning process. After some self-questioning (pp. 12-13), the audience (a section of the *dramatis personae* in this satirical Vaudeville) cry for " a worker's state " and the chorus assault the Dancer. They are, however, bamboozled by the Announcer with easy talks of " English revolution " (p. 17). The Dancer soon gets into a fit, but is being injected by a doctor, so that the show may continue. After this the chorus sing a plea for return to nature as panacea. One of them speaks of the solitary flight into the heart of reality (p. 27). The theatre suddenly changes into a club, called the Alma Mater, and the chorus now relate the blood-story of capitalism from primitive accumulation to post-war decadence.

They united them into a squalor town

They put them in factories and did them down

Then they ruined each other for they didn't know how

They are making the conditions that are killing them now. (*Ib.*, p. 35).

The Dancer dies at last. The curtain drops as Karl Marx enters and announces : " The instruments of production have been too much for him. He is liquidated " (p. 38).

The presentation, inspite of earnest efforts to expose the follies and foibles of bourgeois decadence, is disappointingly crude. The Augustan technique is inadequate for this epic theme of a historic revolution. The happening is passive and mechanical : the forces of life that liquidate the dead old system are entirely absent. It appears as if the old worn-out structure will come down without any strenuous collective assault. This is shirking the responsibility and this lie to the dialectic of history betrays the artist's unconscious individualism. The presentation is not impassioned ; the contours give no circuit of energy, the lines are flat and insensitive. The final effect is rather that of pulling some marionettes by wire to no other purpose than to poke fun at something irrelevant.

V

The individualist approach and the resultant passivity, lack of spontaneity, power and inevitability, persist in the *Dog Beneath the Skin* and the

Ascent of F6. The hero in the *Dog Beneath the Skin* sees from behind the guise of a beast into the falsity and bankruptcy of contemporary social order—its institutions as well as its directors. We once again are told how the dead past encumbers human progress: "Life larks evil, out of its epoch," (p. 13). The influence of the past, made use of by the exploiting class, is essentially inhibitive. Life is described by the chorus, before Act I, Scene 5, as

A human forest: all by one infection cancelled.

Despair so far invading every tissue has destroyed in these
the hidden seat of the desire and the intelligence.

The hero has seen through the machinations of the Militarists, the base conspiracies of the Financiers, the infernal system of exploitation. The system has gone bankrupt. But in spite of all this knowledge, the Auden-hero cannot act. He is alone—he is afraid. He poses as a spectator, as a satirist, his participation is choric rather than heroic. The formulation is inspired by no passionate belief: the action itself is passive; it is dreamed, not acted.

The *Ascent of F6* is another record of the defeat of consciousness in the hands of the unconscious. Michael Ransome was not persuaded by Stagmantle's cheap pragmatism. He had the grit to laugh at Isabella's appeal to chivalry. But he could not fight for long against Mrs. Ransome. With a tragic consciousness of suicide, he surrenders to the group-instinct. In infernal glee, James-Isabella-Stagmantle group broadcast the triumph of death.

Besides, Michael knew that he was moved by a lust for power. At the beginning, he pointed out that in the *Divine Comedy*, Dante was not moved by wisdom or moral sense but by *wille der macht*. Ransome knew this and he did not want to be another victim. When he reached the monastery, he looked into the crystal and found the image of his own mortal ambition. His mind was divided. But then came the news that the Ostnian party of Blavek were about to reach the peak. The principles of mountaineering were thrown to the winds: the principles of knowledge, enjoyment, morality. Lamp's slip in quest of Polus Nafrangia was a pointer. And Michael knew his doom. He was now one of those "dullard murderers who hale the gentle from their beds of love" (p. 87). In the last Act the mother and the will to dominate unite in the Spirit of the mountain and his mountaineer mates condemn Ransome before history.

Once again the tragedy is largely due to the single-handed fight of the conscious life-principle against the mobilised forces of the unconscious.

Ransome is alone, passively consciousness and divided within himself. But James, Stagmantle, Isabella, Mrs. Ransome, the rival Ostnians—they form a massive unity, undisturbed by any conflict within themselves: they form a terribly one-minded destructive mass. Their victory is a fact of fatality. As Mr. and Mrs. A. said: "The old, old story that never ends." And we are left with the final impression expressed by the chorus:

True, Love finally is greater,
Greater than all, but large the hate
Far larger than man can ever estimate. (p. 118).

VI

In *Look Stranger!* Auden himself supplies us with a key to the strength and limitation of his attitude to life. In the dedicatory lines to Erika Mann, he says,

Since the internal disorder, and extravagant lies
The baroque frontiers, the surrealist police
What can truth treasure, or heart bless
But a narrow strictness. (*Look Stranger*, p. 7).

This consciousness of disorder and inhibition urges in him a morality of uncompromising truthfulness. It is painful, but he seeks to accept the moral-aesthetic of Owen-Mansfield—"to be rooted in life" (p. 40)—and records the strain.

The sense of forced duty and constraint persists even in the passionate pages of *Spain*. He is painfully conscious of "the expending of powers On the flat ephemeral pamphlet and the boring meeting." It seems that the charge of the self-debasement made by Riding-Kemp in the *Left Heresy* is not without its point.

In *On the Frontier*, Auden works out the theme of the early *Charade* in detail. The perspective seems to retain the same fatal defectiveness: the forces of life work through the love of youthful individuals who are inexorably crushed under the wheels of old feuds between rival states and the machinations of Leaders and Financiers. The belief in human goodness is there but not in its strength. The Prologue's announcement that "the day is coming, brother, when we shall all be free" (p. 18) is not convincing. All the characters (Martha, 'Violently repressed, fanatical'; Hilda, 'butterfly type'; Dr. Thorvald, 'pedantic'; Mrs. Vrodney, 'embittered by poverty,' etc.), seem to conspire with circumstances (the

Ostania-Westland rivalry) to crush the shy immature love between Eric Thorvald and Anna Vrodney. The technique of the Ostnia-Westland room is highly effective. Duality triumphs over unity: hate over love: the Leader's broadcast over love's murmur.

VII

In the body of poems added as appendix to the *Journey to a War* (the portion in prose is written by Auden's old collaborator, C. Isherwood), Auden takes a stride forward towards dynamic integration. The opening group of six poems describing the Journey from "London to Hengkong" suggests of "somewhere a strange and shrewd tomorrow" (p. 20) beyond 'the barren plains of the sea.' The sonnets are terse and highly well wrought studies in the different forms of inhibition. In Sonnet 7, we are told how the poet, as one of the community, wrote moving things, got separated from the common people and lost all spontaneity and inspiration.

Songs came to him no more: he had to make them
With what precision was each strophe planned
He hugged his sorrow like a plot of land. (*Journey to a War*, p. 265).

After the sonnet sequence, the verse commentary presents the Chinese War for freedom as

...the one sector and one movement of the general war
Between the Dead and the Unborn, the Real and the Pretended.
(*Ib.*, p. 292).

We are told of the three great movements in history towards the realisation of the 'Jen' or the truly human and of how two of them (the Universal Church and the Renaissance) have failed. Modern civilization has gone bankrupt and now

Fear builds ranges casting shadows,
Heavy bird-silencing, upon the outer world,
Hills that our grief sighs over like a Shelley, parting
All that we feel from all that we perceive,
Desire from Data. (*Ib.*, p. 292).

To ensure this dichotomy, forces of reaction work so that "terror like a frost shall halt the flow of thinking" (*Ib.*, p. 293). The poet calls upon us to stand up and answer their bleak lie.

Now in the clutch of crisis and the bloody hour
 You must defeat enemies or perish, but remember,
 Only by those who reverence it can life be mastered. (*Ib.*, p. 299).

For once the analyst approaches the point of being dynamic in response. But circumstances soon became too complicated and the poet recoiled back to the old painful attitude of passive criticism.

VIII

In 1939 came War. People, more prepared than our poet, were left confused and uncertain. Harry Pollit, the secretary of the British Communist Party, supported the War, wrote a programme for victory, was taken to task by the Party executive and recanted. Other communists like Tom Wintringham refused to be bullied and started the now-famous home-guard movement. Honest lovers for freedom did not know for certain if it were an imperialist war or a war for democratic freedom. Faced with this general bewilderment, the passive individualist in Auden found a justification for flight. He had heard 'twelve months ago' the sighs of the many 'sleepless guests of Europe' 'wishing the centuries away.' And he saw in history only decomposition, death and ruin.

Eccentric, wrinkled and ice-capped,
 Swarming with parasites and wrapped
 In a peculiar atmosphere,
 Earth wobbles on down her career
 With no ambition in her heart. (*New Year Letter*)

He felt isolated, irrelevant—like the poet in the *Journey to a War*, Sonnet 7, unable to communicate. The explanatory note from Gorki's *Diary*, referring to Tolstoy's shy confession of unhappiness to a lizard, is revealing. He is weary of knowing, of living, of all novelties.

But translated from her own informal world
 The ego is bewildered and does not want
 A shining novelty this morning
 And does not like the noise of the people. (*New Year Letter*)

But to a poet with Tiresian vision, there is no solace in isolation or conscious escape. He knows it and so once again he starts the old game of make-believing things he cannot act upon. In *Another Time*, he despairingly

looks up at personalities who faced the same problem, to revive his belief in the strength of life: he seeks inspiration from Yeats (*Another Time*, p. 107), from Toller (*Ib.*, p. 111), from Freud (*Ib.*, p. 116) and others. He wants to believe that life will survive all these onslaughts of death, for the common people see the sun and light pours on their roofs (*Ib.*, p. 124). But the world is growing dark round him, for he has recoiled back on the dichotomy within himself. Wish how he may, he cannot honestly surrender himself to the massive world movement towards the *Jen*. In this darkness, he looks towards the few scattered light specks of great men. He dreams to be one of them (*Ib.*, p. 115). But instead

I sit in one of the dives

On Fifty-second Street

Uncertain and afraid

As the clever hopes expire

Of a low dishonest decade:

... ..
The unmentionable odour of death

Offends the September night.

(*Another Time*, p. 112).

And this, after such tremendous efforts. Consciousness is baffled, beaten, battered by the massive death-forces of the unconscious. Is escape his doom? We are left to wonder.

PRÁCTICAL STEPS TOWARDS THE IMPROVEMENT OF MUSEUMS IN INDIA

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MUSEUMS in India are more or less depositories of curios. The Upper Indian term *yādughar*—literally ‘magic house’—truly pictures the mental outlook of the ordinary Indian towards our museums. They visit these places not to learn anything but to satisfy the sense of curiosity which is awakened by the prospect of seeing the unusual. For this type of mental attitude the museums themselves are mostly responsible and to some extent our educational system too.

The museum or the temple of Muses is as good an educational institution as a school or college. It differs from the latter only in the method of imparting knowledge and in the variety of its disciples. It attempts to educate both young and old, and literate and illiterate. It does not tutor its pupils by means of lectures but serves the same purpose through exhibition of actual things. It does not convey ideas and informations through words of mouth but employs a more direct method. It appeals through the sense of sight and not through that of audition alone. This is the only difference between the museums and ordinary academic institutions for imparting knowledge. This clearly shows that the museums have the potentiality to offer greater facilities for education in particular lines than our so-called educational institutions. In spite of this difference in method a closer co-operation between the museums and schools and colleges is desirable and necessary in the best interest of the country.

As museums aim at educating all classes of people their nature should differ according to the nature of their pupils. Broadly speaking there are three types of museums, namely, historical, artistic and economic. I shall not deal with historical or art museums here as they serve only a very small fraction of our population. Unfortunately in India the museums at present existing are mostly organised from these two stand-points. Historical or more properly speaking archaeological objects and objects of artistic value have been given undue preference over economic objects in our museums. This has practically destroyed the true character of the museums in respect of the majority of our people who daily visit these institutions. Historical objects associated with past glories or

misfortunes do not make any permanent impression on the minds of the uneducated or half-educated but merely create a temporary feeling of vanity or pathos which passes away as soon as the onlooker moves on to the next object. Even this temporary feeling is not awakened often owing to defective labelling or illiteracy of the visitors. The artistic objects, however, create some impression through their very appearance but it does not serve any useful purpose in most of the cases. Thus the museums in India, as at present organised, do not serve the best interest of the country or of its people.

The vital problem with which we are faced in India to-day is the problem of starvation of the millions. If our educational institutions do not seriously grapple with this problem at every stage they will soon cease to exist themselves. Men must live first and then only they may enjoy art or feel glory in viewing the objects associated with past history. This is where the Economic Museums come to the forefront. Art and historical museums may be organised at the centre but Economic Museums should be scattered throughout the country. It should be the motto of the authorities of such museums to carry their exhibits to the very doors of the people instead of asking them to come to the museums. India is a poor country and the masses living in the villages can hardly afford two meals a day. Where will they get the money to visit the museum towns far away from their homes and that for the luxury of seeing *tāmāshās* housed in mighty structures?

The ideal of Economic Museums is to bring knowledge about the existing means and methods of agriculture, commerce and industries in different parts of the country in the first instance, and then of the outside world, in concrete shape to the people who are mostly in need of it. To realise this ideal there should be a network of museums of three different varieties, namely, (a) Central Museums, (b) Local Museums and (c) Circuit Museums. The Central Museums are to be organised at the Provincial headquarters. Each of them should have a Board of Scholars to carry on research work in different branches of museum activities. The Local Museums are to be organised by the District Boards, Local Boards and Municipalities and are to be located at the headquarters of each of these organisations. There should be elaborate arrangement for exchange and loan of objects between the Central and Local Museums on a systematically planned basis. The Circuit Museums are to be organised by the authorities of the Central Museums in close co-operation with the Local Museums. These Circuit Museums will visit the different centres of arts and crafts and places of agricultural and commercial importance where there is no Local Museum. Police Stations, Dak Bungalows, or market

places may be the temporary venue of such museums where only selected objects suitable for the locality are to be carried and exhibited. The selection of place and objects should be left to the Board of Scholars attached to the Central Museum.

Besides the organisation of such Economic Museums all over the country for the benefit of the rural folk there is much scope for improvement of the present condition in (a) exhibition (b) description and (c) collection of museum specimens. Specimens may be exhibited from different standpoints. In Economic Museums the utilitarian standpoint is the most important one. Objects used by different peoples or in different places for a particular purpose are to be placed side by side with a proper description of each especially noting the advantages of one over the other. If possible such advantages should be demonstrated by cinematographic projection at regular intervals and where necessary with slow-motion pictures, accompanied by explanatory lectures by a member of the Board of Scholars attached to the Central Museum or some one trained by them. The work of collection is to be initiated by the Board of Scholars at the Centre and executed under their direction by the authorities of the Local Museums. The specimens are to be collected according to the subjects on which popular attention is to be attracted and this according to the needs and necessities of the people in question. The interest of the scientific researcher is to be made subservient to the interest of the ordinary people. Suppose it is decided to improve the agricultural methods or implements of a particular locality. The Board of Scholars will depute one of their members to study the problem. He will at first investigate the present condition of farming methods and implements in the area under consideration and the adjacent areas and then suggest improvements which may be introduced with the least disturbance of the present condition. If this improvement lies in introducing a new implement or in the modification of an old one then all the implements used for the particular purpose in and around the locality as well as the new or modified one are to be exhibited together with proper explanatory notes in each case, pointing out their conveniences and inconveniences. This may be further demonstrated with cinematographic projection accompanied by suitable explanatory lectures. Side by side with this a short account of the present condition and the suggested improvements is to be published in the local vernacular and, if possible, freely distributed among the people or sold at a nominal price. I can place before you innumerable cases of this type where such demonstration and exhibition would go far to ameliorate the condition of the people among whom they occur. To the anthropologists such instances appear almost at every stage of their investigations.

To carry out the suggestions put forward above the authorities of the museums of to-day in India will have to change their present attitude. Economic Museums should not be allowed to grow out of the collections made by individual scientists for their own research work. Stress is to be laid on the applied side and not on the academic side of the different branches of science concerned with museum work. Such museums are to be organised to solve the popular needs and necessities and researches in the domain of pure science is to be relegated to a subsidiary position in this connection.

The Economic Museums as well as the museums of other categories require trained men for properly carrying out work in the different departments. Collection of specimens, packing and preservation of them in the field, cataloguing, labelling, final cleaning and preservation, reconstruction, exhibition, museum organisation, etc., require previous training in each and every one of these functions. The Central Museum should organise theoretical and practical classes for training candidates for museum work. Those who are already in museum service should be compelled or induced to receive this training as early as possible. Without such a training the primary duties of a museum curator cannot be properly discharged. Moreover, co-ordination among the different units of the Economic Museums is not possible until and unless the workers are trained in these functions.

SUMMARY

(a) More attention should be devoted to organisation of Economic Museums.

(b) There should be three types of co-ordinated museums—the Central Museums at the Provincial headquarters, the Local Museums at the district, sub-divisional and municipal headquarters and Circuit Museums moving from place to place according to industrial, commercial and agricultural needs.

(c) The Board of Scholars attached to the Central Museums should be in charge of initiating and organising the collection of specimens with the express intention of meeting some popular needs.

(d) Introduction of cinematographic projection and propaganda booklets for inducing people to adopt new implements or methods. Better exhibition and description are absolutely necessary for attracting people to these institutions.

(e) The Central Museums should organise theoretical and practical classes for training in museum work.

(f) Change of attitude of the museum authorities is advocated.

“The Museums exist for the people and not for the scientist alone” should be their motto.

THE DEFEATIST MENTALITY—ITS CAUSE AND CURE

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EVER since Freud brought into clear relief the pathological tinge of our most workaday thoughts and actions, the laymen as much as the mental experts have been forced to a recognition of what we may suitably characterise as the oblique, in contrast with the direct, aspects of our motivation and conduct. Many of our instincts and motives are of an aggressive, hostile kind. In our dealings with them, we automatically enter into some sort of a compromise and rather than proclaim our hostility and aggressiveness in plain terms, we throw on them the guise of non-committal hints and symbols. Wit, humour, irony and the like familiar adornments of our speech and personality are all expressions of the oblique as such and clearly exhibit the play of such a compromise. Freud, however, went a step further and in the course of his painstaking analysis of our little everyday mistakes and forgettings, not to speak of our dreams and phantasies and other specifically morbid conditions, he exploded once for all the myth of an inviolate normality. As Freud found it, mentally speaking, we are more irrational than rational—that is to say, we are surprisingly instinctive in our common motives and behaviour however much we may pose our rationality. This makes it impossible to keep to the old rigidity of distinction between the normal and the abnormal. If by normality we indicate the balance, and compromise between such opposing fundamental instincts like love, fear, anger, etc., and their sudden demands for expression, such normality on the face of it is always under a tension if only because this our world is not all perfect, and as things are, can hardly look with favour upon a parade of such instincts. There is also in most of us the will to avoid shame and exposure of our inmost thoughts and motives. All this makes it inevitable that the natural urge of such instincts should undergo in us a constant repression. Generally we think no more about these repressed instincts. But that does not mean that these repressed instincts and tendencies remain all quiet and idle. On the contrary, they, as a rule, take to other more innocent-looking ways to manifest themselves so that the balance between the circumstances of environment and our ego may not all of a sudden get upset. Where, however, such means of escape are few and far between owing to some

inherent defect in mental alertness and elasticity, there ensues a recurring maladjustment between the circumstances of environment and the ego, which in time becomes fixed and grows into an inveterate attitude of mind highly prejudicial to the normal centralisation of personality. Sometimes the ego altogether gives up the struggle to keep up appearances with the world around and steps unconscious into a world set up by its own lurid imagination. In such extreme cases the ego does not so much defy the outside world. Rather, plagued by compulsive thoughts and memories, the ego denies the world as we normally take it.

The phenomenon that goes under the name of 'defeatist mentality' is almost epidemical nowadays when times are out of joint and the entire world is in the throes of cataclysms and the thunder-bursts of war. The term 'defeatist mentality' signifies on the part of the ego a confession, more disguised than explicit, of its defeat in the day-to-day struggles of life and bespeaks a confirmed habit of mind, characterised by symptoms, often morbid, of frustration, gloom, and despair. With the advent of our mechanised civilisation, our life has grown into a complex, meandering pattern. We are being thrown into the welter of life with its traditional age-worn taboos on the one hand and its aggressive, modernistic ideas on the other. The traditional beliefs and conventions, the legacy of its tribal past, are a constant source of embarrassment for the ego. Indeed, with Freud it is the one source of all mental conflicts and aberrations. The past with its readymade formulas of looking at things and ideas can seldom work unobtrusively into the present. However outworn in the eyes of reason, these formulas are always remorseless in their spell on the ego—they go into the very root of its being. What we usually understand by heredity is hardly sufficient to convey the measure of their influence. They are "the mesh in which we subconsciously envelop ourselves or in which we have been enveloped by others during the passage of time." The influence of the past is therefore of profound moral significance, because it works insidiously in the dark recesses of the mind and gives to the ego its inherent mental outlook all through its race of life. By reason of this all-pervading influence of the past, it is but natural that some tendencies and instincts will be over-determined at the cost of others and will form into a habit or 'mentality' which will always define for the ego its reaction on the circumstances of its environment. An individual with such a decisive cast of mind is foredoomed to a deficiency in the normal elasticity of his adaptive powers. As such he is always at a disadvantage over others who are temperamentally of a more buoyant type and are not so easily susceptible to the conflict of ideas. An individual with a defeatist mentality is therefore one who is always reacting

on men and things under an inferiority complex, though very often this sense of inferiority is not conscious and articulate. In other words, his mental reaction is habitual and not deliberative. Such a person is irrevocably prone to a dark view of men and things, and feels rather keenly the oppression and inequalities of life. He is thus introspective and sensitive beyond what is good for him.

Fortunately for us modern psycho-therapy has placed at our disposal enough of accurate and authentic data about these hesitating, indeterminate types of character, and the all too baffling problem of ameliorating the morbid outlook of such types now admits of some scientific adjustment. More up-to-date psycho-analytic research has shown that even in the earliest stage of mental development there comes about an 'introjection' or internalisation of the external moral sanctions imposed by our elders. The earliest discrimination of the ego between good and evil, between right and wrong reveals the working of an internal standard of moral perfection. However vague and confused in the first instance, this is an experimentally attested fact. This internal standard of judgment or valuation relates to the 'ideal' self or the Super-ego as the psycho-analysts name it. In the cases of persons of defeatist mentality, the censoring hand of the Super-ego is very much in evidence mainly because of the acute sensitiveness that such natures early betray. A remarkable case in point is that of the poet Cowper who completely broke down under the very thought of appearing before a clerkship examination. He writes feelingly in the Narrative which he drew up after his recovery: "*They whose spirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themselves on any occasion is mortal poison,* may have some idea of the horrors of my situation; others can have none." The fact is that such persons feel in thoughts the same severity and compulsion as others feel in actions, and this renders them unequal to situations of even ordinary responsibility. It is only by relaxation of the authoritarian grip of the Super-ego over such persons that they can be made to feel and act naturally without being pestered by the exacting demands of perfection of the Super-ego. The way to lessen the enormity of this standard lies through the displacement of the morbid self-criticism that such persons habitually indulge by a more helpful co-ordination of their mental and physical powers. A free discussion of their troubles, a change of air and cheerful company may often induce in them a better "appreciation of the details of time and sense" and release their locked-up mental energies to be utilised in congenial occupations. It frequently happens that a capacity or aptitude in which out of defeatism a person may believe he is lacking is at once released by overcoming the repression connected with it. For example, he may believe that he has no

aptitude for attacking any open job, that he has not the precise concentration of efforts that such a job required. The real reason, analytically speaking, may be found to lie in the fact that the primitive self-display (of the person in question) has in his past history led to the reaction of modesty, shame and the like and has consequently undergone repression or inhibition. Now remove this inhibition and convince him that there is nothing wrong or sinful in taking pleasure in self-prominence, you find him a changed man, beaming with a new confidence in his powers. In this way the brooding habit will eventually yield place to the more active habits of enterprise and initiative. Of course, a mild dose of self-criticism now and then is all to the good; but this must never be allowed to become a factious habit killing all joy of achievement and paralysing all inspiration of thought and action.

It is, however, far from us to suggest that we must make avowed efforts at moral improvement by a sudden conversion of the will. The human mind is not a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate, where impressions may be inscribed or effaced obediently to our convenience. Such a static conception of the human mind is now abjured by all psychologists. The human mind, on the contrary, is vitally dynamic in its interplay and cross-currents of varied, opposing forces. As such it requires expert skill and experience to bring about a graduated displacement of the abnormal inhibitory tendencies. If we run after quick results and force the will into sudden changes, it may spell disaster in the end with a total disruption of personality. So it behoves us to take infinite patience and care to humour the recalcitrant will into more healthy, socializing action-patterns. However much those action-patterns are good and edifying in themselves, we must on no account lose sight of the realities of the situation and of the very limited receptive capacity of the mind after a certain age. Such an honest and sympathetic approach can alone ensure a permanent and effective cure of the mind's lingering obsession of pessimism.

This psycho-analytic method has been inveighed against because it studies the human mind in the light of the mechanistic principle of determinism and proceeds on naturalistic lines. But such objection seems to rest on nothing more than a misunderstanding. For, however inclined to determinism psycho-analysis not merely admits the personal sense of freedom in the matter of free choice of moral alternatives but even significantly speaks of some minds being more free than others. All the same psycho-analysis insists that the roots of our personality strike deeper into the Unconscious—the mysterious 'hinterland of semi-responsibility,' where in the dark our impulses and desires, our inhibitions and obsessions are being shaped and nourished into magical potency and power. If social

good is our heart's desire, if a new social order is felt to be the crying need of the hour, the problems of personality will increasingly claim our serious and sober attention; and the value and importance of psycho-analytic study of the problems will then emerge in the fullest triumph and glory. Besides, rational insight is at one with self-knowledge and psycho-analysis by initiating us into the process whereby we freely objectify our inner experiences and thus surprise their secrets undoubtedly augments our rational insight and helps us on to a better knowledge and appreciation of the art of life.

WALT WHITMAN ON INDIA

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WHEN an Englishman or an American comments on India, either through the press or from the platform, he very seldom strays beyond the strictly political and economic issues. In wartime particularly such comments are invariably confined to questions arising out of the exigencies of strategy and diplomacy. So when Mr. Rand who, till his death in a recent aircrash was the Director of the U. S. Office of War Information in Calcutta, spoke on Whitman's poem on India, he did something that was unusual and remarkable. Indeed the observations of Mr. Rand on Whitman's *Passage to India*, which he made in the course of an address to the All-India Hindi Poets' Conference at the Calcutta University Institute Hall on August 21, are of great significance. They have confirmed our notion that the U. S. A. do not altogether ignore the value of human sentiments in international relations. They are specially reassuring to those Indians who desire a greater intellectual co-operation between India and America. In recent times the U. S. A. have shown great interest in Indian affairs. In the context of this American sympathy for the Indian cause, the remarks of Mr. Rand on Whitman's attitude to India and his idea of universal brotherhood have a special significance. For Whitman's notion about India is altogether different from what the British statesmen or Kipling think about the country. The Indian policy of Whitehall is to this day based on what Kipling said about India in his poems. "The White Man's Burden" still remains the gospel of the India Office. And Whitman's poem on India is an implicit contradiction of the ideas expressed in that poem of Kipling. The American poet feels that his countrymen should go to India as pilgrims; the English poet feels that his countrymen should go there as missionaries. Whitman urges the people of the West to go to India to receive light; Kipling urges his countrymen to go to India to dispel its darkness.

Whitman's *Passage to India* is significant as a spirited affirmation by a Western poet of the value of the Indian culture, as a recognition of India's contribution to the civilization of the world. To Whitman India represents a civilization which places the life of the spirit above everything else, a civilization which teaches man to soar above his immediate material

conditions. Such a civilization, Whitman believes, is a necessary complement of Western materialism.

But Whitman's appreciation of the spiritual character of the Indian culture does not involve a rejection of Western materialism. Whitman visualises a composite culture which will value the adventure of the intellect as much as the aspiration of the soul, which will unite the spirit of the West with the spirit of the East. Orientalism is generally described as a desperate recoil from excessive materialism, as a mode of escape from the sick hurry of a materialist civilization. It has been characterised as the gospel of passivity, as the faith of the frustrated and the timid. Whitman's love for the spirit of India does not, however, imply any reaction against Western civilization.

Whitman did not hate or denounce Western materialism. He was on the contrary an inspired prophet of the glory and greatness of human initiative in the field of science and technology. But he at the same time very keenly felt the need of a spiritual renaissance in the West, a moral reconditioning of the Western mind, which, he believed, would proceed from its contact with the culture of India.

Whitman's *Passage to India*, therefore, is not merely a tribute to the spirit of India; it is a prophecy of a great human civilization in which the Past will be linked with the Present, in which man will live in perfect harmony with Nature and with the urges of his body and soul.

Passage to India, which is one of the best poems of Whitman, was published in a booklet in 1871. It was occasioned by the completion of the Suez Canal and the Pacific Rail Road, which to Whitman were the material expression of the yearning of the Western mind for the spirit of the East. As Mr. Rand has rightly observed, "Walt Whitman believed that the historical search for a new route to India symbolized the world-wide search for the secret of all nature." (Quoted from News Release No. 24, circulated by the U. S. Office of War Information on August 22, 1943.) The poem may be considered the finest expression of Whitman's poetic genius. "There is more of me," Whitman said about it in 1788, "the essential me in that than in any of the poems . . . the burden of its evolution—the one thing escaping the other—the unfolding of cosmic purposes." In the completion of the Suez Canal and the Pacific Rail Road Whitman saw the prospect of that great world civilization which, he believed, would proceed from a closer cultural relation between the East and the West. To Whitman the achievements of science which have facilitated communication between nations and have enabled the various races to get nearer to each other are not merely the result of man's mechanical ingenuity. To him they are an expression of man's urgent

search for universal brotherhood, a proof of his ability to devise for himself the material precondition of a spiritual achievement. Similarly, search for India was not a search for markets: it was a search for new values, a quest of a new spirit. Whitman felt the necessity of a happy synthesis between Western materialism and Eastern spirituality. He believed that the world was drifting towards a composite culture which would recognise the value of man's material life without ignoring its spiritual foundation.

The main ideas of the poem may be briefly recounted. The journey to India is the journey of the human soul to the great Past it has left behind. A culture that is torn from the context of its past is bound to be defective and unsatisfactory. Science alone cannot satisfy the demands of the human soul. Humanity feels the need of something spiritual. The fables of Asia are the "far-darting beams of the spirit." Scientific means of communication manifest God's purpose of welding the nations together, of establishing international fellowship and universal brotherhood. Scientific achievements should not, therefore, be exploited for commercial expansion, they should be availed for the consummation of man's spiritual aspiration. Man has lost his root in Nature, his foundation in the past. The achievements of scientists and scholars will bring a new culture and a new humanity. Route to India signifies the discovery of man's ancient heritage, the prelude to the New Age. Passage to India symbolises the irrepressible desire of the human mind to return to "reason's early paradise, back to wisdom's birth." Contact between the East and the West is the union of the ancient and the modern spirit. It is an expression of the "love complete, the Elder brother found, the Younger melts in fondness in its arms."

Whitman is one of those American writers of the last century who read and were greatly influenced by the literature and philosophy of ancient India. Emerson might have been more deeply touched by the transcendentalism of the *Upanishadas*, Thoreau might have had a finer appreciation of Indian thought. But it was Whitman who, more than either of his great contemporaries, proclaimed the greatness of Indian culture and realised the value of its contribution to the civilization of the world.

RÉPATRIATION OF STERLING LOANS

OPERATIONS UP TO 8TH FEBRUARY, 1941

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ON the eve of the present war, India's total indebtedness in sterling (she had or has no other sort of external indebtedness) amounted to nearly three hundred and fifty million pounds equivalent, in rupees, to four hundred and sixty-five crores approximately. Barring some £2,000, the whole of this was loan at interest. The entire debt was, moreover, funded in character. The debt was owed in three varieties: redeemable loans, irredeemable loans and annuities. The redeemable loans amounted to a little above £96 millions or nearly 27·4 per cent. of the total. The railway annuities aggregated to £36 millions. They were all terminable, and were due to be discharged at varying dates ranging from 1948 at the earliest to 1959 at the latest. The irredeemable loans amounting to a little above £200 millions had, as the name indicates, no fixed date of maturity. They can be classified under two heads: ordinary stock and debenture stock. The ordinary irredeemable loans amounted to £176·4 millions and consisted of three scrips. One of them, *viz.*, the 3 per cent., of which nearly £77 millions was outstanding, was irredeemable until the 5th October, 1948, but could be redeemed on or after that day upon one year's notice. The two other irredeemable loans, *viz.*, the 2½ per cent. and the 3½ per cent., had already passed the period during which they had been absolutely irredeemable, and were now redeemable upon one year's notice. In the next place, there were the irredeemable railway debenture stocks, the total of which amounted to nearly £25 millions. In addition to all this, India owed to Great Britain a certain amount of money arising out of her contribution to Britain during the last Great War. India promised during that period a donation to the British Government of £100 millions.¹ Of this, she paid £83 millions in cash by raising war loans, and for the rest, she assumed the liability of the British Government for its War Loan, 1929-49, which amounted to nearly £17 millions. Of this liability £15½ millions remained due on the eve of the present war.

India's public debt harks back to the days of the East India Company. Up to the last sixties the debt was almost wholly unproductive, and was

¹ *Vide* the speech of Sir William Meyer, Finance Member, in the Legislative Council, Government of India, in March, 1917.

raised to finance the costly wars waged by the Company within and outside India and to defray the expenses incurred by it to put down the Mutiny.¹ The genesis of the public debt in the eighteenth century lay in the French Wars in the South and the wars with Mysore. In the nineteenth century, till the abolition of the rule of the Company in 1858, the country enjoyed hardly any considerable respite from war. In the first two decades there were wars with the Mahrattas and Nepal; in the third, war with Burma; then came the wars with Afghanistan and the Sikhs; and lastly, the Mutiny, which alone cost India forty million pounds. Every fresh war saw India's public debt raised by a cubic foot. In fact, as has been appositely remarked, 'the history of India's debt' during the rule of the East India Company "may be described as the history of Indian warfare in its financial aspect."² Deficit budgets also contributed to the increase in the public debt. As the Welby Commission appointed by the Crown in 1896 stated, "from 1838-39 to 1861-62 deficit was the rule and surplus the exception."³ Borrowing had thus to be frequently resorted to in order to make income reach up to expenditure.

India's public debt during the regime of the Company was raised mostly in India but was held in non-Indian hands. Thus, out of a total debt of £69,473,484 remaining outstanding on the 30th April, 1858, only £8,769,400 was held in England, and the rest, amounting to £60,704,084 was held in India. The bulk of the Indian portion of the debt was, however, from the beginning, held by the Company's European servants and English merchants, and at the time when the Company's administration came to an end it was estimated that not more than one-third of the Indian debt was in the hands of the Indians themselves.⁴ Outright external indebtedness increased, however, at a fast pace since then, and by 1893 the sterling debt of India had already exceeded the debt raised in India. The following table shows the progress of the rupee and sterling debts⁵ of India since 1900:—

¹ Of the total debt of India on 30th April, 1858, amounting to £69,473,484 or about Rs. 97 crores (at 2s the rupee) only £5,400,000 was productive debt. *Vide* Report of the Indian Expenditure (Welby) Commission, sec. 117. Regarding the rate of the exchange, see the remark of the Commission in section 123 that 'in 1862 and 1867 ten rupees and the pound sterling were convertible terms.'

² *Vide* Dr. P. N. Banerjee, *Indian Finance in the Days of the Company*.

³ *Vide* Report of the Indian Expenditure Commission, sec. 117.

⁴ *Vide* Banerjee, *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵ Figures up to 1935 taken from G. Findlay Shirras' *Science of Public Finance*, Vol. II, pp. 1100-1101. The figure for 1939 taken from the Central Budget for 1940-41, p. 112. *Vide* the Minority Report of Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Caine and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Members of the Welby Commission, paragraphs 67-71. The fall in the exchange made the Government of India agree to pay "exchange compensation allowance" to its non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees *Vide Ibid.*, para. 74. See also Report of the Congress Select Committee on the Financial Obligation between Britain and India, pp. 17-45.

PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA

(In Lakhs of Rupees).

Year ending 31st March	Rupse Debt	Sterling Debt	Total
1900	132,04	186,22	318,26
1905	148,33	199,33	347,66
1910	171,13	264,16	435,29
1913	187,22	268,77	455,99
1918	312,26	355,44	667,70
1920	409,67	288,95	698,60
1925	515,09	454,93	970,02
1930	648,30	483,20	11,36,50
1935	725,66	513,36	1239,02
1939	464,09	464,94	929,03

We have already stated the main cause of public borrowing in India up to the time of the Mutiny. That cause was almost wholly war and warlike operations. Even after the Mutiny, between 1860 and 1900, India's public debt continued to be raised mainly for unproductive purposes. The most important of these was, again, war. Among others were loss on the exchange, deficit budgets, provision for famine relief and the liquidation of the stock of the East India Company. By 1892, however, the productive portion of the debt had already exceeded the deadweight debt and was nearly sixty per cent. of the total. Since then, in the public debt of India, the weight of the productive debt has been increasingly greater.

Borrowing for productive purposes may be said to have begun in 1867-68 when the State decided to charge in future expenditure on irrigation and construction of railways to a separate capital account. Earlier than that, no distinction at all was made between productive debt and unproductive debt and all expenditure was charged to revenue. The growth of the productive debt was, in the beginning, exceedingly small. Towards the end of the century, the increase took place at a rapid pace. Between 1892 and 1906 the Government borrowed every year something like Rs. 4 crores for the purpose of the development of the railways. The year 1906 saw inaugurated an era of railway expansion unprecedented in India's history. Public borrowing on account of railways thereafter reached gargantuan dimensions. The net public debt incurred for railways in 1906 amounted to Rs. 32 crores, whereas in any previous year it had never exceeded Rs. 8 crores. In the following year the railway debt advanced by another Rs. 29 crores. The Committee on the Finance and Administration of Indian Railways (popularly known as the Mackay Committee) recommended an

annual expenditure on railways of £12½ millions or nearly Rs. 19 crores. Between 1906 and 1911 the net public debt of the Government of India increased by Rs. 76.02 crores. Of this Rs. 70.21 crores was debt on account of the railways, and Rs. 5.81 crores was debt raised in England. ✓ During the last Great War, there was no further public borrowing in England, as the London money market was closed to us. It has been already stated, however, that the war increased India's external indebtedness by £100 millions or Rs. 150 crores. The next spell of public borrowing began in 1920-21 and during the decade between that year and 1930-31, India's indebtedness in London increased by Rs. 326 crores 79 lakhs. An important cause of heavy public borrowing in England and also in India (although in the latter case on a somewhat reduced scale) during this period was budgetary deficits which in these ten years amounted to Rs. 57.26 crores. Among other contributory causes was the assumption by the Government of India of direct management of the E.I. and the G.I.P. Railways which involved, along with the taking over of the properties of the Companies concerned, the shouldering of their liabilities as well.

External indebtedness is at best a necessary evil. To a country lacking indigenous capital or with capital market inadequately developed, it is of great importance and may become sometimes indispensable. Foreign debt involving regular interest payment and ultimate repayment of capital creates obligations that can be discharged only in the foreign currency concerned, and this may cause at times considerable difficulties (some of them arising from the problem of transfer) in actual practice. The Government may also be led on to attempt to overvalue the home currency to smooth out their remittance programme, and thus, apart from strictly economic factors, a certain amount of speculativeness may enter into the determination of the rate of exchange. It is needless to point out that a country with a large foreign debt does not have very high international credit. The political demerits of the foreign debt are also considerable. Foreigners become interested in the maintenance of *status quo* in the home country and this may interrupt political development in the case of a backward nation.

✓ The need for the gradual elimination of the sterling debt of India has been long felt by the country. A parliamentary committee admitted as early as 1889 the political and financial reasons which make external borrowing undesirable, and forbade it in the case of India provided the necessary fund was available within the country and the difference between the rate of interest in India and England was not too great. In the present century increase in external indebtedness has been looked upon with growing disfavour by the Indian public and also by the Government

of India at least theoretically,¹ but this has not prevented the latter from borrowing quite large sums in the London market even in recent years. Sometimes it has so happened that the Government has borrowed in the London market at a higher rate of interest than it did in the Indian market in the same year.²

Repatriation of sterling loans, as distinguished from redemption, was decided upon by the Government as a definite policy in 1937-38. In that year sterling loans of the value of £0·84 millions were purchased in the open market in London against the creation of rupee counterparts of the value of Rs. 1.12 crores. It may be mentioned that open market purchase of Indian Sterling Loans is possible only when the exchange is in our favour. In a normal year this causes no difficulty at all, for India has, usually, a favourable balance of trade. In the next year 1938-39, due to a slackening in our remittance programme, the repatriation operations had to be temporarily suspended. However, during this period the Government of India were able to liquidate completely their liabilities in connection with the Family Pension Funds amounting to £9½ millions.³

Since the outbreak of the present hostilities the growth of sterling in the hands of the Reserve Bank of India was greatly accelerated, and the question of repatriation naturally bulked large. The accumulation of sterling with the Reserve Bank has been conditioned by two factors: (1) rapid shrinkage of import trade, due to (a) the pre-occupation of the exporting countries with war operations, (b) the greatly increased dangers of the sea-route and (c) the fact that some countries from which we used to obtain large supplies became enemy countries; (2) and secondly, the growth of the invisible exports of India due to the fact that India became with the progress of the war an important base for supply of various essential war materials and food-stuffs to His Majesty's Government for which she was paid not in her own currency, the rupee, but in sterling in London. The immediate rupee finance has been made the responsibility of the Government of India leading to large expansion of the internal currency. About the nature of the sterling balance in London and the effects of the currency expansion on internal economy, more will be said later on.

¹ Sir George Schuster stated as follows in the Indian Legislative Assembly in course of his budget speech for 1929-30: "It is only in so far as money cannot be raised from the investing public in India that I should ever consider having recourse to sterling borrowing." Paragraph 75.

² Of various instances, mention may be made of borrowing in the years 1921-22, 1927-28 and in 1929-30, the year last mentioned being that in which Sir George Schuster made the speech quoted in the preceding footnote.

³ Vide Report on Currency and Finance for the Year 1939-40, pp. 19-20.

The following table¹ shows the growth of the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India since 1935-36:—

STERLING ASSETS OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

Annual Average	Sterling Securities held in the Issue Department (Rs. Lakhs)	Balances held Abroad (Banking Depart- ment (Rs. Lakhs)	Total (Rs. Lakhs)
1935-36	62.13	15.05	77.18
1936-37	69.63	13.76	83.39
1937-38	79.90	13.39	93.29
1938-39	66.88	4.12	71.00
1939-40	78.32	12.19	90.51
1940-41	129.97	39.47	139.44
1941-42	165.44	45.94	211.38

The gross accumulation of sterling in the Issue and Banking Departments of the Reserve Bank of India is shown clearly in the following analysis²:—

1. Total Sterling Assets held by the Reserve Bank in August, 1939	...	64
2. Sterling purchased by the Reserve Bank		
September 1939—March 1940		86
April 1940—March 1941		76
April 1941—March 1942		98
3. Sterling Recoveries from His Majesty's Government		258
		582

It is hardly any wonder, therefore, that the question of repatriation was re-opened soon after the outbreak of the war. The Government of India, in pursuance of the policy already adopted, authorised the Reserve Bank to purchase on their behalf non-terminable Indian sterling loans in the London market on favourable terms and to transfer the scrips to themselves for cancellation against the issue of additional rupee paper of 3 and 3½ per cent. non-terminable loans. This additional rupee paper would be held by the Bank till it thought fit to re-issue the same to the public according to the requirements and absorptive capacity of the market.

The first cancellation, under these arrangement, took place on the 15th November, 1939. The total value of the non-terminable sterling loans repatriated in 1939-40 amounted to £9,337,500 being made up of 3% India Stock 1948 of the value of £3,712,500 and 3½% India Stock

¹ Based on statistics in the Report on Currency and Finance for the Year 1941-42, pp. 91 and 93.

² Vide Report on Currency and Finance for the Year 1941-42, p. 20.

1931 of the value of £5,625,000. The rupee counterparts issued against them amounted to Rs. 12,45,00,000 consisting of 3% Paper 1896-97 for Rs. 4,95,00,000 and 3½% Paper 1842-43 for Rs. 7,50,00,000.

This was followed up on the 22nd February, 1940, by the announcement of a further scheme of repatriation which was, however, limited only to the loans of the terminable variety. The scheme consisted in the creation of the following rupee loans as counterparts of sterling loans noted against each.

Rupee Loans	Sterling Loans
(1) 3 % Loan 1949-52	3 % India Stock 1949-52
(2) 3½% „ 1954-59	3½% „ „ 1954-59
(3) 4 % „ 1948-53	4 % „ „ 1948-53
(4) 4½% „ 1950-55	4½% „ „ 1950-55
(5) 4½% „ 1958-68	4½% „ „ 1958-68
(6) 5 % „ 1942-47	5 % „ „ 1942-47

Holders of the sterling loans were given the option,¹ with effect from the first April following, and until further notice, of transferring their holdings from the books of the Bank of England to the Rupee Register of the Reserve Bank of India at various centres. The rupee counterparts, once issued, would not be reconvertible into sterling, but might, as in the case of other rupee loans, be encased for the payment of interest in sterling at the London Office of the Reserve Bank of India.

The Reserve Bank of India was also authorised to purchase terminable sterling loans in the open market. This resulted in the cancellation of such loans valued at £7,755,000 during 1939-40 against which rupee counterparts were issued of the value of Rs. 10.34 crores. The table² which follows shows the various terminable sterling loans cancelled through open market purchase in 1939-40 and also indicates the rupee counterparts issued against each.

Rupee Loans (counterparts)	Amount Rs. Crores	Sterling Loans Cancelled	Total £
(1) 3 % Loan 1949-52	55	3 % India Stock 1949-52	412,000
(2) 3½% „ 1954-59	20	3½% „ „ 1954-59	150,000
(3) 4 % „ 1948-53	1.03	4 % „ „ 1948-53	772,500
(4) 4½% „ 1950-55	2.86	4½% „ „ 1950-55	2,145,000
(5) 4½% „ 1958-68	1.39	4½% „ „ 1958-68	1,042,500
(6) 5 % „ 1942-47	4.31	5 % „ „ 1942-47	3,282,500

The scheme of repatriation through voluntary transfer came into effect on 1st April, 1940. It may be stated, however, that this scheme

¹ For details of the terms of conversion, see the Memorandum issued by the Reserve Bank of India, dated the 27th February, 1940.

² Vide Report on Currency and Finance for the Year 1939-40, pp. 19-20.

could not appeal much to non-Indian investors who, indeed, stood to gain precious little from it. In fact, the transfer would mean the subjecting of their interest income from these loans to the fluctuations and exigencies of the rupee-sterling rate of exchange. In normal times, the fluctuations are negligible, but they cannot be entirely ruled out. Though provision was made for the payment of interest in sterling through enfacement, the interest would be earned in rupees in the first instance and then converted into sterling at the ruling rate of exchange about which there could be, of course, no guarantee. Reference may also be made in this connection to the various proposals emanating from time to time from influential non-official quarters in India for the under-valuation of the rupee. In the case of anything coming out of such proposals, the loss to the non-Indian investors would be far more serious and heavy.

The total sterling loans repatriated through the new licence scheme in 1940-41 amounted to £2.20 millions and the rupee counterparts issued against them were of the value of Rs. 2.69 crores. It may be mentioned in this connection that to the Government of India every such transfer was highly welcome if only because the interest payable on account of a rupee counterpart would be subject to the Indian income-tax whereas the income from the Indian sterling loans would not. A much larger quantum of cancellation was effected through open market purchase which secured in 1940-41 £9.22 millions at a cost of £8.52 millions (equivalent to Rs. 11.36 crores) against which counterparts were issued amounting to Rs. 12.10 crores.

A debtor government is always free to purchase its own loans in the open market, if available, and it also becomes expedient to do so when this can be done on favourable terms. An essential pre-requisite of open market purchase is, however, the availability of ready cash. The ready money need not be in the actual possession of the Government: it is enough if it is in the possession of the Central Bank and can be made available to it. When the loan to be purchased is an external one, the ready cash must be in the form of the foreign currency concerned. India rapidly qualified for this condition with the progress of the war. The policy of open market purchase suffers, however, from the limitation that it cannot be long kept secret, which is almost an essential condition for its success, and once the buyers get to know about it, they sit tight on their holdings. In such an event, either the Government must retreat from the market, or they have to purchase the loans at a heavy and undue cost to themselves. The voluntary transfer scheme of 22nd February, 1940, was entirely free from this blemish: because it was voluntary. Under it nobody would need part with his scrip unless he himself so chose. The

scheme had the further advantage of financing itself. - Cash payments were substituted by the rupee counterparts which served for direct payment. For reasons stated, however, the scheme failed to have much appeal to any but Indian investors. The gain of the latter from the scheme, however, need be emphasised, and there can be no doubt that of those who actually took advantage of the scheme, Indian investors formed by far the largest group. The gain of the Indian investors not only consisted in the availability of their assets nearer at hand, but they also stood to gain in so far as the rate of the Indian income-tax might be lower than the rate obtaining in Britain. Moreover, the fact that Government securities are usually quoted in the Indian market at a somewhat higher price than similar securities in the London market made it likely that the Indian investors could also hope to derive some gain from capital appreciation when the counterparts came to have a market of their own.

Open market purchase is the normal course open to a debtor government willing to repatriate its external loans in an expeditious manner. A more conservative course would be to await, and avail of when arrived, the first optional debt of redemption. This policy has been generally pursued in the Dominions, as we shall see more fully later on. The policy pursued by India has been substantially different. She tried open market purchase and voluntary transfer only in the first stages of repatriation. Finally, she took to compulsion. But of this, more hereafter.

Up to 31st March, 1941, India purchased through the policy of open market purchase Indian sterling loans of the face value of £27·15 millions at a purchase price of £25·81 millions. Of these, the purchases made in 1937-38 were insignificant amounting to £0·84 millions (face value). The rest were purchased in 1939-40 and 1940-41 and the greater part of the purchases in these two years were made between March and October, 1940.

We may stop here a little to ask the question how far the Government of India and the Reserve Bank were able to effect their open market purchases on terms favourable to themselves. We have already hinted at some of the dangers attending the purchaser in the open market. If he lets his secret go, it is not likely that he will make a bargain. It has been alleged against the Government of India and the Reserve Bank that they made their open market purchases in London with so much noise that their action had the effect of raising the prices of the securities against themselves, thus inflicting a heavy loss on the Indian exchequer. This criticism has been strongly controverted by both the authorities concerned. In his budget speech for 1942-43 Sir Jeremy Raisman,

Finance Member to the Government of India, said: "There has been criticism in some quarters that the open market purchases made from time to time before the first compulsory repatriation pushed the prices against us and, therefore, made the scheme unduly expensive. This criticism is not valid because the bulk of our purchases were made during March to October, 1940, when security prices had slumped as a result of international situation, and the prices paid were close to the minima fixed by the London Stock Exchange." This same argument is repeated by the Reserve Bank of India in the Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1941-42. "The bulk of the open market purchases in 1939-40 and 1940-41," says the Report, "were made between March and October, 1940, when the prices were near the minima fixed by the London Stock Exchange."

As a matter of fact, on March 18, 1940, the London Stock Exchange Committee did not *fix* so much minimum prices of certain British and Indian Funds as *raised* the minima fixed months back on August 24, 1939. The revised minimum prices of March 18, 1940, compare with the minima of August, 1939, as follows:—

MINIMUM PRICES FIXED FOR INDIAN LOANS¹

Loan	August 24, 1939	March 18, 1940
India 2½%	55½	67
„ 3%, 1948	66½	79
„ 3%, 1949-52	50½	96
„ 3½%	79½	91½
„ 3½%, 1954-59	92½	100
„ 4%, 1948-53	98	104
„ 4½%, 1950-55	101½	107
„ 4½%, 1958-68	102½	109
„ 5%, 1942-47	101	103½

The minimum prices of August 24, 1939, which were the same as the lower or "bid" prices quoted in the London Stock Exchange Official List for August 23, 1939, were fixed under the shadow of an impending international crisis. The Russo-German non-aggression pact had been announced three days earlier and had been actually signed in Moscow the day preceding. Germany was moving openly on the war path and every body knew that if Hitler struck Poland the whole magazine house of Europe would be immediately aflame. The effect of such grave happenings and sinister forebodings on the London Stock Exchange can be very well imagined, and it was in fact already suffering from occasional shocks of panic. Closely on the heels of the minimum prices came the doubling of

¹ Vide *The Economist* for March 23, 1940.

the bank rate from 2 to 4 per cent. The resulting confusion contrasts very sharply with the situation in March, 1940. The world had not yet any inkling of the coming collapse of France and other reverses. For the time being there seemed to be a calm assurance in the political atmosphere, false though it proved to be. Various peace feelers emanating from Berlin *via* neutral channels also helped to confirm the misreading of the situation. Be that as it may, the fact remains that in March, 1940, the London Stock Exchange felt assured enough to raise the minimum prices. It is not possible to support the statement of Sir Jeremy Raisman quoted above that between March and October, 1940, the prices in the London Stock Exchange had slumped. The following table gives the quotations of the Indian Sterling Loans in the London market between March and October, 1940:—

MARKET QUOTATIONS OF INDIAN STERLING LOANS IN 1940¹

Loan	March 18	April 13	May 1	June ²	July 10	August 7	September 4	October 2
2½%	67	72½	74	...	72½	73½	73½	74
3%	79	82½	82½	...	79	79	79	79
3½%	91½	95½	95½	...	91½	91½	91½	91
4½%, 1958-68	109	115	115	...	109	109	109½	110
4½%, 1951-55	107	112½	110½	...	107	107	107½	107½
5%, 1942-47	103½	107½	107	...	103½	103½	103½	104
4%, 1948-53	104	108	107½	...	104	104	104½	104½
3½%, 1954-59	100	103	102½	...	100	100	100½	100½
3%, 1949-52	96	99	99	...	96	96	96½	96½

Thus we find, far from Indian sterling loans slumping in the London Market between March and October, 1940, many of them actually appreciated in value during this period. The alleged slumping did not take place with regard to even a single Indian scrip quoted above. Moreover (and this is an important point) the prices during this period were based upon the revised minimum prices fixed on March 18, 1940, which, as we have seen, were considerably higher than the scale of minima prevailing earlier.

The Indian authorities can hardly be congratulated on the timing of their purchases in 1940. In fact, the minimum prices on March 18, 1940, near about which the purchases are said to have been made, were more or less the same as, and in some cases actually higher than, the ruling prices

¹ The quotations are taken from *Capital* of various dates.

² The quotations for June are not available, as the London Stock Exchange was closed during this month.

on August 1, 1939, when there were no official minima. The following table illustrates this point:—

INDIAN STERLING LOANS

Prices in the London Market¹

Loan	August 1, 1939 (closing rate)	Minimum price fixed on March 18, 1940
India 3½%	84½	81½
„ 3%	72	79
„ 2½%	60½	67
„ 4½%, 1950-55	108	107
„ 4½%, 1958-68	110½	109
„ 5%, 1942-47	106	103½
„ 3½%, 1954-59	96½	103
„ 4%, 1948-53	102½	101
„ 3%, 1949-52	94½	96

Thus we find that the statements of the Indian authorities concerned quoted and criticised above are vitiated by the fault at least of *suggestio falsi*.

¹ The first seven quotations are taken from the *Times*, London, for August 2, 1939, and the remaining three are taken from *The Statesman*, Calcutta, of the same date.

ORGANISATION OF RELIEF IN EUROPE AFTER THE LAST WAR*

S. C. BASU, M.A.

THE League of Nations has recently published a pamphlet which presents a comprehensive picture of the system of relief which was organised just after the First World War by the Allies and particularly the United States to alleviate distress which was so wide-spread in the continent of Europe. It should be understood, however, that relief work as it is ordinarily known—that is, assistance tendered without a *quid pro quo*—is not the actual subject-matter of the book. Its object is to delineate the special systems of transactions by governmental agencies and charitable organisations by which relief commodities, particularly food, were delivered to Europe against gold or other assets.

The four long years of war from 1914 to 1918 left many countries—Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Armenia, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, Belgium and Northern France—in the grip of acute food shortage with that consequent threat of starvation and death. The main problem, therefore, was to supply adequate food products to these distressed countries. The major initiative in this matter came from the United States and naturally the supply from this country covered the bulk of the delivery. This was supplemented by the United Kingdom which provided such commodities and services as were not available from the United States. In fact, only these two countries were in a position at the time to give relief of any consequence to Europe.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that appropriate organisations had already been created and they had been operating relief in Europe during the continuance of the war either in the Allied war zones or in enemy-occupied territories through the neutral countries. Several instances may be cited. The American Food Grain Corporation sold wheat, flour, beans and potatoes for export to the allied and neutral Governments at minimum prices; the Commission of Relief in Belgium distributed relief to a population of 10 millions in Belgium and Northern France for four years preceding the Armistice. Besides these again, various charitable organisations, such as American and British Red Cross,

* *Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-1923* (published by the League of Nations, Geneva, 1943), p. 62.

The Quakers, The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, The Y.M.C.A., the Near East Relief and others operated relief in the war zones. These active bodies were co-ordinated into a big organisation for large scale relief operation during the Armistice period.

The relief work under review covered two periods of time: (i) Armistice Period (January to August, 1919) and (ii) Reconstruction period (from the middle of 1919 to the end of 1924). During the Armistice period—in February, 1919—an official body, The American Relief Administration (A. R. A.), was created with Mr. Herbert Hoover as Director-General. With this were co-ordinated, as referred to above, the active organisations already in the field and also the organisations built up by the Allied Governments for the purchase of food supplies overseas and their transports and allocation to various countries. The A. R. A. established its headquarters in Paris and outlined all relief programmes. It delegated its buying and shipping activities to the American Food Grain Corporation which opened a London office for this purpose.

Food needs of each particular country were carefully estimated in tons, in terms of total amount of calories as well as in terms of calories per head per diem. This estimate was made on the assumption that part of the farm population of the relief-receiving countries was in a position to live on the produce of its own lands. And so, the relief programmes in some countries covered mainly the requirements of the urban populations.

The programme of delivery composed of four groups of commodities: (i) Breadstuffs (grain and flour); (ii) Beans, Peas and Rice; (iii) Pork products and (iv) Milk. The final delivery also included considerable amount of potatoes and the United States Army Foods. For the latter, however, no details by commodities are available. The distribution was fixed on a basis of 2000 calories per person per diem.

The relief commodities were sold mostly to the Governments and in some cases, to the co-operative societies of the countries in need, while the A. R. A. officials made it sure that the supplies actually reached the people who were in distress. It should be pointed out in this connection, that during the period of Armistice, the Central and Eastern Europe not only lacked food but also foreign exchange to buy it. Moreover, they had no way of obtaining transport facilities without the co-operation of the Allied Governments. The A. R. A. met these needs by purchasing foodstuffs in the United States, organising shipping and overland transport and delivering the commodities on credit wherever cash payments were impossible. The net value of relief thus given during the period of Armistice was estimated at 1,266,700,000 dollars.

With the signing of the Peace Treaty in June, 1919, this official inter-Allied relief came to a close and the activities of the Director-General of the A. R. A. terminated in August. But the A. R. A. remained as a private organisation with Mr. Hoover as its chairman. From now on the nature of relief was diverse and the activities were carried on mainly by the A.R.A. It was, however, assisted by other private organisations as American Friends Service Committee, the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. As most of the European countries still remained in urgent need of relief, an endeavour was made in 1920 at the initiative of the British Government to rebuild a system of co-ordinated relief for the Central and Eastern Europe. The International Committee for Relief Credits was created accordingly and it arranged relief credits largely for Austria and Poland from the Governments of some ex-neutral countries covering a total value of 25 million dollars.

About this time, the European Children's Fund was also created in the United States to distribute relief among the children of Europe and its work was entrusted to the A. R. A. The question of under-nourished children was in fact taken up into special consideration among the programmes of relief. For this purpose, national committees consisting mainly of women were formed in the relief-receiving countries. These committees supervised the distribution of meals to the children as arranged by the A.R.A. in central kitchens, schools, etc. Children's meals generally consisted of flour, rice, beans, peas, pork products, milk (condensed or evaporated), cocoa, sugar, corn grits and miscellaneous foods. Calculating on an average, every child of the Central and Eastern Europe was fed for one month under this system of relief. It may be noted, in this connection, that meals distributed to children were not complete from the standpoint of nutrition. The standard daily requirements for children of 5-7 years are about 1400 calories per head and for young persons of 12-17 years 2000 to 3200 calories. But the meals supplied are stated to have provided about 670 calories for each child. The meals were also decidedly poor in animal proteins and fat, chiefly because of the small allowance of milk. "It is not astonishing, therefore, to find" as the pamphlet states "that the child-feeding programme—although it prevented a disastrous child mortality—was not adequate to prevent malnutrition".

In addition to child-feeding programme, the A.R.A. started food warehouses which were set up in the relief-receiving countries and Mr. Hoover organised an ingenious "food draft" service system. By this, individuals in the United States could purchase food drafts of a value of \$10 to \$50 and send them to relatives in Central European countries and later on also in Russia where they were convertible into

specified quantities of food at the A.R.A. warehouses. Bulk sales of food were also granted from these warehouses to various relief organisations on the spot. The A.R.A. distributed food otherwise also in Russia during the famine of 1922. The American Food Grain Corporation implemented this work of relief by selling large quantities of wheat and flour to certain European Governments on credit. The value of relief during the Reconstruction period amounted to 1,34,9000,000 dollars.

All such relief was financed in three major ways: (i) by cash payments made by relief-receiving countries; (ii) by credits extended by countries furnishing relief commodities; (while special effort was made to stop the rapid exchange depreciation of the relief-receiving countries by grants of "stabilisation credits" lest it should jeopardise the very purpose of food relief) and (iii) by gifts. Large scale gifts, however, were only made during eight months after the Armistice.

As for relief loans, a large part of the total debts was naturally owed to the United States. The relief credits granted by the United States were, with two exceptions (Austria and Hungary) given without any specific security. There were only promissory notes of Governments and a series of funding agreements concluded by the debtor countries which did not pledge any particular assets.

The volume of relief had to be tremendous and it called on the part of the relief-providing Governments not only for careful handling and adjustments of stocks of food at home, but for necessary control of prices being effected, proper appropriation of money made and adequate loans introduced so that the requisite quantities of commodities may be released and sold without affecting the domestic economy of the countries concerned.

The pamphlet is indeed a worthy production of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations of which Mr. A. Loveday is the Director. It epitomises the experiences gleaned and difficulties encountered and overcome in a vast work of relief that was indispensable immediately on conclusion of the First World War. It will undoubtedly, as such, prove a valuable guide for the future work of relief and reconstruction which has to be taken up during and after the present World War.

Miscellany

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CENSUS OF INDIA 1941

According to the Indian Census 1941, the total All-India population is 389 millions as against 338 millions in 1931. This represents an increase of 51 millions in ten years. The addition is more than the estimated population of France (42 m.), Italy (43 m.) or the United Kingdom (47 m.) in 1936.

Apparently the increase looks enormous. But in reference to 1891 (with 279 m.) the addition is 110 millions only. From decade to decade during half a century the rates of growth were not uniform or uniformly high. Per thousand inhabitants per year the rates of increase were as follows:

Decade	Rate	Decade	Rate
1891-1901	... 1'4	1921-1931	... 10'6
1901-1911	... 6'4	1931-1941	... 15'0
1911-1921	... 1'2		

The total increment in fifty years is measured by 40 per cent. In comparative demography the position of India vis-à-vis certain countries has been indicated in my *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941, pp. 370-373) as follows for the period 1880-1930:

Country	Percentage of increase	Country	Percentage of increase
U.S.A.	... 186'0	Germany	... 42'2
Japan	... 74'1	India	... 39'0
Great Britain	... 54'1	Spain	... 36'8
Italy	... 46'8	France	... 11'3
Switzerland	... 43'5		

The trend of India's demographic increment over a somewhat long period (50 years) is, therefore, slower and weaker than that of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Great Britain, Japan and the U.S.A. Since 1600, again, the British population is known to have increased more than 8 times while the Indian not more than 4 times.

In regard to India's 15 per cent. increase in ten years we may recall that Soviet Russia's population increased from 147 millions in December 1926 to 170 millions in January 1939. The rate was 16 per cent. India's growth is, then, neither abnormal nor exclusively Asian.

INCREASE OF POPULATION MORE APPARENT THAN REAL

The Census Commissioner, M. W. Yeatts, be it observed, is not blind to this situation. About the 51 million increment of the recent decade he observes (*Census of India 1941*, Vol. I; *India*, Part I; *Tables*, Delhi, 1943, pp. 23-34) as follows: "Undoubtedly this massive increment must impress forcibly and even come as a shock to those without knowledge of the factors behind it. ... The true position is different."

One important consideration is that at the Census of 1931 there had been under-enumeration on account of the boycott of the administration in connection with Gandhi's non-co-operation movement. Hence the figures of 1941 look somewhat inflated. The increment is, therefore, less real than apparent.

Another factor in 1941 was the census-consciousness of the people. The politics of "communalism" was engendered or promoted by the Government of India Act 1935. The "communities" (Hindus, Muslims, etc.) got tremendously interested in the power of sheer numbers. Both collectively as well as

individually everybody wanted to have himself or herself appear in the enumerators' lists. The result was perhaps an almost cent. per cent. enumeration. This was in marked contrast with the previous censuses since 1872 when indifference to enumeration had been an almost national characteristic. The enumeration in 1941 turned out, therefore, to be adequate with a vengeance. The excessively high rate of increase over 1931 can, then, be easily comprehended. It is not necessary to see in it, other circumstances remaining the same, the signs of approaching overpopulation or demographic disaster.

The increment of 1941 is to be taken as temporary or occasional. Among other factors explaining this increment of the decade is to be mentioned that the irrigation facilities of the Punjab are comparatively new forces. The Punjab as an economic unit is a relatively young region. The results of these new forces have enabled it to appear as a "swarming area." Another agrar-economically young region is East Bengal. In this region the facilities are provided by Nature in the form of rivers, floods and alluvial soils. Demographic increase in this area can thus be easily accounted for. But both in regard to the Punjab and East Bengal the influences of agricultural *Geopolitik* cannot be expected to be operative at a uniformly high rate in subsequent decades. The law of diminishing returns cannot but function in considerable doses from quinquennium to quinquennium. Hence the demographic increment of 1931-41 cannot be taken to be the norm for a whole generation or so.)

A SUBCONTINENT OF SLOW PROGRESS

A feature of the 1941 census is the increment in urbanization. The rate of increase over 1931 is not, however, considerable. It is necessary to observe here that in the Indian census publications for several decades it has been the custom to describe as town only such settlements as have a minimum of 5,000 inhabitants. But in the statistics of other countries the category, "town," comprises settlements with 2,000 and up. In the interest of international uniformity I am taking the 2,000-person settlement as the town. In 1941, then, there were 116 million town-dwellers in the perspective of 389 million inhabitants. This yields 30 per cent. as the index of urbanism, as against 28 per cent. in 1931 and 26 per cent. in 1921. The index for 1931 has to be corrected according to this calculation on pp. 29-30 of my *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941).

Here as elsewhere in India we encounter slow progress and low rates of change. It is the snail's pace that is to be looked for on the Indian subcontinent.

Figures for literacy are not yet available. But from the statement given by Yeatts (pp. 31-32) we notice that in 1941 only 8 per cent. of the population was literate in the U.P., 13 per cent in the Punjab, and 16 per cent. in Bengal. In Bombay 9 per cent. was literate among women and 30 per cent. among men. The Bengal literacy was represented by 7 per cent. among women and 25 per cent. among men. Female literacy was to be found only among 2 per cent. of women in the U.P. In certain instances the rate of change over 1931 was between 70 and 300 per cent. But the total result was miserably low as indicated above. (One of the greatest causes of India's lag or backwardness in techno-economic, sanitary and socio-cultural fields is to be found in this conspicuous lack of literacy.)

The birth rate remained virtually unchanged during 1920-40. It was fluctuating about 33 per 1,000 inhabitants. But the decline was still noteworthy from the 38 per thousand of 1901-10 (*Indian Journal of Medical Research*, Calcutta, October 1935, p. 558). The rate of decline (13%) was not high. But it was not negligible by any means. In case birth decline be an index of progress we have here another instance of slow progress rate in India.

Round the World

India and Great Britain

An Indian gentleman, Mr. Chinna Durai by name, has, in a recent broadcast from the B. B. C., given us an idea as to the knowledge of men and things in India on the part of the British population. He tells us that he has of late addressed numerous meetings in Britain and his experience is that although many in his audience were eager to know more of India, actually they had little or no acquaintance with Indian history, traditions and present circumstances. This is more than unfortunate. In view of the fact that India and Britain have been associated together for well nigh two hundred years and in view of the fact that elementary education up to the age of fourteen has been compulsory in the latter country for decades, it may appear more than surprising that the general body of the British People still remains so ignorant as to India. But neither the leaders of education nor those of administration in Britain have so far regarded India as a fit subject of study except by those who may be required for administrative purposes to come out to this country. Even during the present war when every effort has been made to make known to the British people the history and civilization of such countries as the United States of America and the Soviet Union, no attempt has been made to bring India into the picture. We referred on some occasions in the past in these columns to courses of lectures on the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. held from time to time in different counties of England so that the people there might have a better idea of these allied countries. We referred also to the special courses held with the purpose of interesting the teachers of schools in their history and culture. Of late again any number of general and comparatively detailed history books on these countries has been published in Britain. But as for India, she remains as neglected as before. It is true that some publications have been brought out on this country as well but that only by way of justifying the present attitude of the British Government towards our political aspirations. This, however, is not the way to acquaint at least the younger generation with things Indian. But we are possibly counting without the host. The British Government may not want at all that the British people should have more than a vague idea as to Indian civilisation, culture and political ambition.

Attlee on Indian Freedom

That with regard to India there are no party alignments in Britain has been brought home to us more than once. The socialists, radicals, and progressives are at one in this respect with the conservatives. They share the same thoughts and speak with the same voice in respect of Indian political demands. Differences in outlook, principle, and policy are all meant to be limited to the home front. They do not extend to India. Mr. Attlee, the leader of the Labour Party has recently pointed out that while Britain is eager to part with political power in India and confer full autonomy upon the Indian people, the latter are too perverse and too disunited to accept the gift. As soon as they would unite, they would have political autonomy for the asking. There is nothing new or original in this observation; it is exactly in keeping with the utterances of Mr. Amery with whom Mr. Attlee agrees entirely in regard to British policy towards India. What is interesting is that the Warden of the Tynby Hall has also joined in the chorus. He points out that during his recent tour in the United States he met American criticism of British policy in India by observations which have exact family likeness to those of Messrs. Attlee and Amery. So it seems that

it has become the settled policy of British propaganda to mobilise all fronts, whether they be of socialism or of social work, for the purpose of neutralising advanced American thought as to British Imperialist policy.

Mr. Churchill and India

In a recent broadcast from the heights of Abraham Mr. Churchill paid a glowing tribute to the efforts which the British Dominions had already made and were still making for winning the war. He specifically mentioned in this connection Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It may appear strange to outsiders, though not to the people of this country, that he did not refer in any way to the great army which India has sent to different fronts and which has heroic exploits to its credit. The Governor-General designate has in fact pointed out that without the services of the Indian army, successes in the Middle East could not have been achieved at all. Mr. Churchill, however, would not refer to this fact. Evidently he does not want to bring India into the picture in any of his utterances in the new world. He does not like the people of America to have from him an impression that India as such has done anything for the war and has at all a status of her own. It is significant that in the same broadcast he has referred to the "British Commonwealth and Empire," making thereby a distinction between the two portions of Empire—the portion of self-governing territories and that of the dependencies. It is also significant that Mr. Attlee, who is now a hundred percent admirer of the Prime Minister, has followed his chief in referring to the "British Commonwealth and Empire," and in emphasising the distinction between the two. It should be known in this connection that early in this century the representatives of the self-governing colonies (not yet known as Dominions) insisted on the recognition of this distinction. But from the last War onwards the distinction was done away with and British Statesmen took pride in the fact that the Empire had become a Commonwealth. But now with the advent of Churchill and Amery to power the old distinction has been revived. It shows which way the wind is blowing.

Religion in U.S.S.R.

The place of religion in the Soviet Union has been a theme of discussion since the outbreak of the Russo-German war in 1941. The Marxists who got hold of power in Russia in 1918 had no faith in organised religion. In fact they were convinced that religion was a great obstacle to the creation of a revolutionery outlook among the people. It had throughout the history of Czarist tyranny acted as a dope upon their mind and kept them more or less reconciled to the despotism of the Romanofs. It did not allow them to be roused to the great wrong which was being done to their interests by the Czar and his agents. Convinced as the Marxists were in this regard, they excluded religion from their scheme of things. For over a decade not only they carried on an active propaganda against the practice of religion but they also excluded from office those people who still remained actively affiliated to any religious organisation. Thereafter this policy changed in this that while the propaganda against religion was continued, those who still professed one or another religion were not penalised in the same way as before in regard to the filling of offices. But it should be known that clergymen were not included in this category. They continued to be under a ban and were excluded from this privilege. With the outbreak of the Russo-German war in 1941 there was a further change in the policy of the Soviet Government. The leaders of the Soviet Union are first and foremost pragmatists. They thought that if the sympathy of the Christian world was to be enlisted on behalf of the Soviet Union, they must show by action that they did not any longer penalise directly or indirectly the practice of religion. They also wanted to bring out the utmost from every citizen for war efforts. If this could

be done by withdrawing the indirect ban upon religion, they would certainly agree to do it. This is why we hear today of the surprising spectacle of a deputation of Christian clergymen waiting upon Marshal Stalin at the Kremlin and asking for the revival of the Patriarchate. It is reported that Stalin has complied with their request.

Perseverance in Education

Recently the daily press in Calcutta gave prominence to a candidate for the last B.A. Examination, who succeeded in securing in the present year the much coveted degree at the age of fortyseven in his nineteenth attempt. This must be regarded as the last word in perseverance. His friends are justified in calling this gentleman the Robert Bruce of the twentieth century. We do not know what impelled him to make an attempt for so many years for securing a Degree. In our country such attempts are as a rule made to improve prospects in some particular career. Sometimes they are made also to encourage children to carry on with their studies better. It is not altogether rare in these days that father and son or mother and daughter appearing together at the same examination. But seldom it is found that persons of means stay on at a College or University longer than usual either to enjoy the social life there and to while away the time in the absence of any thing else to do. This is partly because social life in our Colleges and Universities is not yet so well developed as to attract persons on its own account. But in other countries particularly in the United States, the situation is different. In 1939 some of the American Newspapers gave prominence to a gentleman who had been then for seventeen years in the Harvard University. This was an extreme example and on that account received this publicity. But it is not very unusual for young men to stay on at a University far longer than necessary. It is again not very uncommon for people advanced in age and employed elsewhere for years to return to a University to avail a particular course of studies and enjoy afresh the social atmosphere there. Possibly to attend an examination from year to year for a degree is now a characteristic only of India. There was of course one other country in the world which was still more examination-ridden. This was China, where scholars would sit for the examinations till they were three score and ten in order that they might rise one step higher in the official hierarchy. But China has done away with this outworn tradition.

America's Place in the Post-War World

Nathaniel Peffer who is an Associate Professor of International Relations in the Columbia University contributed an outspoken paper under the above title to a recent issue of the *Political Science Quarterly*. He points out at the start that although several plans for post-war international organisation have been formulated in the United States, they are all the handiwork of liberals without much support in the country. Most of the people of the States have in fact kept silent over this issue and are not very likely to give support to a world system under which national sovereignty will be either altogether eliminated or even partly modified. Professor Peffer takes up for discussion several alternatives regarding American policy. The first is Pax-Americana. The second is complete withdrawal on the part of the U.S.A. from world politics as after 1919. The third is partial withdrawal with interest only in the Pacific Zone. The fourth is full participation in an international organisation with its check upon national sovereignty. The fifth is participation in world politics by alliances with some other powers. The first he rules out without ceremony on the ground that the nations of Europe will be united in resisting American

assertions of supremacy. The second and the third alternatives will be very short-sighted for the U.S.A. to adopt. He believes that if the world continues unorganised as now, another war will not be long in coming. And once it comes the United States will be required to participate in it at one stage or another. This is the experience gained from the last two Great Wars fought in the present century. So the withdrawal from world politics either on a complete or on a partial basis will not prevent the U.S.A. from being implicated in a third world war. In view of this it is imperative that the United States should frankly remain associated with world politics. But how? It may join in a world organisation on the definite understanding that either at once or by stages its national sovereignty would be completely engulfed and its tariff and immigration policy will be decided by a government other than that of the United States. If such a line of action appears too heroic, the United States may join Great Britain in alliance into which one or two other countries may later be drawn. In any event Mr. Peffer thinks that the principle of isolation enshrined in the Monroe doctrine must be abandoned. Are we actually to look forward to an offensive and defensive alliance between Great Britain and the United States after the war? Mr. Churchill's speech at the Harvard University appears rather encouraging in this respect. But will the American people fall in?

Whither Jews?

Sometime ago a writer discussed from a new angle the Jewish problem in the London Political Quarterly. He tells us that for five hundred years until the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews had to live an isolated life in the ghettos of different European countries. During this long period they were, as a rule, cut off from the main currents of European civilization. They kept closely to themselves and drew inspiration only from their own past history and traditions. Their manners, customs, and ideals were as they had been handed down by their forefathers and as such different from those which European peoples happened to follow and cherish. In the nineteenth century, however, there was a great transformation in this state of things. The spirit of toleration was now abroad and restrictions on the free movement of the Jews were withdrawn. They now came out of the ghettos and became increasingly assimilated by the society of the country in which they lived. The Jews in England, for instance, became in every sense anglicised and those in Germany became germanised. It is significant that in England there is no more imperialist a group than the Jews as a body. In fact, it may be said that they have completely identified themselves not only with the British society but with the British political ideals. Similarly, in Germany, before the advent of Hitler, there were no greater champions of Pan-Germanism than the Jews there. In the closing years of the last century there was no doubt a reaction against this assimilation and some eminent Jews thought of maintaining the Jewish culture and traditions by establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This ideal has been partly at least achieved. But not only most of the Jews who have settled there are not very much orthodox as to Jewish religion and culture but the protagonists in different countries of the National Home are also far from willing to cling to the coattails of an ancient civilisation. Assimilation is in fact the ideal in view.

U. K. C. C. and India

Ever since the formation of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and the beginning of its work in this country, it has attracted attention in Indian commercial circles and has become a subject of comment in the Indian press. But its activities have seldom been willingly publicised in this country. In fact so far as its work in India is concerned it may be said that it has been shrouded in

mystery. For long people had no idea as to who acted as the agent of this new East India Company in Calcutta and even as to whether it had any work to do here at all. Even now it may not be known to many that a partner of a famous British firm acts as its Calcutta representative. A contemporary asked if it was not a fact that a quantity of rice had been purchased in Bengal even in these days of dire scarcity by this office of the U. K. C. C. at Calcutta for export. In view of the fact that the work of the office has been carried on without any publicity, it is very difficult to know when, how and to what extent this food stuff, every grain of which is now so essential for the protection of life here has been purchased and exported. That is why we think the work of the Corporation should be carried on more publicly than hitherto.

Before the U. K. C. C. stepped in, exports to the U. S. S. R. and the Middle East were made through normal trade channels by the Indian merchants. But as this Corporation started work, these merchants have been ousted from all trade relations with the U. S. S. R. and from the greater portion of the trade with the Middle East. It was argued at one time that export of articles to the U. S. S. R. was to be made on a non-profit-making basis and consequently there was justification in the U. K. C. C. stepping in. But the cat has now been let out of the bag. It has been brought out that the U. K. C. C. has been charging as commission three-sixteenths of a penny for every pound of rubber it exports to the U. S. S. R. What is true of this article may be true in other cases as well. In view of this the talk of making no profit falls to the ground. Nor is it a fact that the U. K. C. C. is concerned with the export of one or two commodities only. Its Chairman has given it out, of course, by way of explaining the great services the U. K. C. C. is performing that it is trading in more than a dozen articles. In respect of all of these it should be noted that it has adversely affected, if not completely ousted, Indian enterprises. It does not appear again that the U. K. C. C. will hold this field of activity only during the period of the war. As a result of a question in the Parliament it transpired that with the cessation of hostilities it was not likely to cease to function. So the Indian public will have another external imposition to fight after the war, if not during its continuance.

Agricultural Income Tax

Sometime ago the Bengal Agricultural Income Tax Bill was published in the Calcutta Gazette and before these lines are in print it is likely that it will be referred to a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly. This is, of course, not the first time that such a bill has been gazetted. Two years ago a bill under the same title and with the same provisions was also published in the Gazette but due partly to adverse public opinion in the province and partly to a change in the Ministry it was not proceeded with. But this time it appears that the measure is being introduced at the instance of the Government of India and if the latter keeps up its insistence, it is not unlikely that the Provincial Government also will insist on its adoption even in the teeth of public opposition.

The Government of India Act, 1935, has conferred the right of taxation in respect of land upon the provinces. But so far only the provinces of Bihar and Assam have adopted necessary legislation for the taxation of agricultural income. The position of Bengal is more or less akin to that of Bihar and Assam. Bihar is as permanently settled as this province is and Assam also is permanently settled in part. Consequently it may be pointed out that if the two neighbouring provinces could increase their financial resources by the imposition of a tax on agricultural income, Bengal also might follow in their foot-steps. Besides, like Assam, Bengal also has within its borders large tea plantations a good portion of the income from which is now exempt from taxation on the ground that it is agricultural. So if the contemplated tax is imposed, a good sum might accrue to the public exchequer from this untapped and unreasonably exempted source.

But it should be known that whereas in Bihar and Assam the landholders happen to pay road and public works cesses like their fellow landholders in Bengal, they are not required to pay the education cess which has been imposed in this province. Consequently the burden on the landholders in the three provinces is more or less the same at present. If agricultural income tax is levied in Bengal, the burden here will be far more considerable than elsewhere.

There are other important grounds also why the Agricultural Income Tax Bill has not been welcomed in this province. A public meeting was recently held in the University Institute, Calcutta, and a conference of landholders was convened at the British Indian Association Hall. The former was presided over by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and the latter by the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga. In both places it was pointed out that while the Land Revenue Commission had recommended the levy of a tax on agricultural income as a stopgap measure, it had insisted also on the condition that the proceeds of the tax must be ear-marked for agricultural improvement. But there is nothing in the preamble of the Bill to show that the income which it would fetch would be so reserved. Secondly, it was emphasised both by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker in his address as President of the meeting and by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee in his message to it that the present time was the most inopportune for the introduction of this taxation measure in Bengal. The abnormally high prices of all necessities have hit very hard all people with fixed incomes and particularly those of the middle class. Most of those whose agricultural income will be taxable under this measure happen to belong to this class. Consequently the bill, if passed, will have the effect of taxing those who cannot bear further taxation. The legislation will consequently be singularly unimaginative and unjust. It has also been pointed out that the Government of India have suggested the new impost in order that the extraordinary situation in this province may be largely met by the Provincial Government from its own income. But as this extraordinary situation is the result of war conditions it is but meet that it should be faced through grants made by the Central Government. The latter may very well make these grants available to Bengal either by taxing more stringently the war profits or by borrowing. Instead the Government of India are insisting upon the Provincial Government embarking upon this taxation. This is shifting responsibility.

The landholders have also one other special argument for opposing the bill. They refer to the recommendation of the Land Revenue Commission for the abolition of the zamindari system. According to this recommendation all rent-receiving rights in this province are to be purchased by the Government at so many times the annual net profit. After hesitating for nearly three years, the Government of Bengal announced a few months ago its acceptance of this proposal. This was during the regime of the former Ministry. It is not known if the present Ministry abides by this decision or not. In any event it appears certain that the permanent settlement is doomed, and the purchase of the zamindari estates by the Government is only a question of time. But meanwhile the net profit of the estate-holders is being reduced by one measure after another. It has been reduced by the withdrawal of the transfer fee and by the imposition of the education cess. The present bill, if it becomes an Act, will reduce it to a far greater extent still. Consequently the compensation which will be available when nationalisation is effected will be lower. This is not, the zamindars think, playing the game.

Kuomintang and Communist Forces in China

There were rumours in Calcutta for sometime that the Kuomintang and Communist elements were having clashes in China. They were corroborated at first by the report of a special correspondent of a Calcutta daily and then by

Reuter as well. This news agency has informed us in a telegram that Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has observed that the conflicts between the two parties were to be solved by political and not by military means. This is certainly a right decision. If the Communists cannot be appeased by political methods, they cannot certainly be so appeased by military violence. The latter will lead only to greater alienation.

It may be known that for long ten years the Marshal was mainly occupied in fighting the Communists who had already organised and drilled an army of their own. Then in 1937 a halt was cried. Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped by the Communists and while in their custody they offered him terms which a patriotic man like the Marshal readily accepted. The terms were that not only he would be set free but the Communists would co-operate with him, though as a separate unit, if he took the decision of concentrating henceforward on fighting the Japanese. The agreement was made and from then onwards the Red forces in China co-operated with the Kuomintang army in the war of national freedom against Japan. It should be known in this connection that the Communists in China as elsewhere draw their inspiration from Moscow. There was no love lost between Japan and the U. S. S. R. in 1937 or at any time between that year and 1941. Naturally the Chinese Communists had ample support in Moscow in their endeavour to join hands with Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese invaders. But in 1941 began the Russo-German War and in view of this outbreak the Soviet Union decided not only not to alienate Japan by any overt action but soon entered into a Non-aggression Pact with her. This change in the relations between Moscow and Tokyo must have placed the Chinese Communists in a new situation. As communists they owe their allegiance first and foremost to the country which has held aloft for the last twenty-five years the communist banner. In view of this it is not unlikely that all may not go on well between the Communist and the Kuomintang elements.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps.—By Ram Monohar Lohia, Ph.D. Introduction by Mr. Yusuf Meherally and five Appendices. Published by the Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. iv + 71. Price As. 8.

In this book Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia attempts to answer the query with which Mr. Yusuf Meherally concludes his preface, "Why did Sir Stafford Cripps act as he did when his behaviour contradicted years of devotion to the cause of India?" The author contends that Sir Stafford must have been aware that the Draft proposals he was empowered to offer to India would not be acceptable to a majority of the people of this country. His answer is that Britain without her empire would lose her hitherto unchallenged position as a first class world power. Hence her unwillingness to part with power. In order to retain possession of India, Britain has to advance certain reasons to which her spokesmen have given expression from time to time. The critical examination of these ostensible reasons constitutes Dr. Lohia's contribution to the problem. Its value is increased on account of the dispassionate attitude maintained by the author.

This appears to be the most thoughtful study of the Cripps proposals published hitherto and the reviewer commends it to the reading public as to the best exposition of the Indian point of view.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Man and His Ideas.—By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Published by The Popular Book Depot, 7, Lamington Road, Bombay. Pp. xxxvii + 174. Price Rs. 4-4.

This book opens with an "invitation" from the pen of Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the official historian of the Congress, which gives his interpretation of Jawaharlal's personality. A valuable feature in it consists in the comparisons and contrasts instituted between the services rendered to the cause of Indian nationalism by Jawaharlal and Mahatma Gandhi. This is followed by a preface written by Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, the famous advocate of Bombay and leader of the Congress party at the Central legislature, stressing Nehru's internationalism as conditioned by the Indian background. Next comes a second preface by the well-known nationalist, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, a former President of the All-India Women's Conference, so well-known for her work among the Harijans and who, due to her intimate contact with the Congress, is so well-qualified to supply, as she has actually done, a bird's eye view of the varied activities of Jawaharlal. Such gaps as may have been left in the reader's knowledge of Jawaharlal's work in various spheres are filled up by the author in a chapter dealing with Jawaharlal the Man.

Written obviously by a nationalist having very strong sympathies with the Congress, the aim of the author is to reproduce for the benefit of the reader Jawaharlal's ideas on various important matters and to point out the exact place he occupies among contemporary men of action and thought.

There cannot be much doubt that Mr. Krishnamurti has shown great industry in conscientiously going through the writings, statements, speeches, etc., of Jawaharlal and proved his critical powers by selecting from the material available Nehru's ideas and pronouncements on such matters as socialism and democracy in their Indian setting, federation, social reform, the problem of Indians overseas, internationalism etc. The last chapter, "Toward a New World Order," is specially valuable as also the one on minorities.

The book is recommended to those who are desirous of familiarising themselves with all that is worth knowing about the opinions of Jawaharlal on the insistent social, economic and political problems of India. The author is to be congratulated on the successful way in which he has performed his task.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Food Policy in India.—By P. N. Singh Roy, O.B.E. Published by the British Indian Association. July, 1943. Pp. 87. Price Rs. 2.

This has been a very timely publication. The brochure is divided into four chapters dealing with agriculture in India, population pressure and food supply, central planning and co-ordination, and food problem in Bengal. A mass of valuable information has been collected and there have been given some details which are generally not available elsewhere. The author has tried to show that the shortage of food production and its allied problems cannot be solved unless the quality of food crops is improved, for otherwise the consumer remains ill-nourished, however much he eats. Secondly, there should be no unwise cropping. Thirdly, exhaustion of the soil should be controlled by proper manuring. Our agricultural policy should, therefore, be so modified as to remedy the present deficiencies in the above respects. But it is also necessary to consider the population factor. It has been shown that the growth of acreage under food crops has been relatively inconsiderable, but the growth of population is showing an alarming increase. The low yield of food crops and the effective decline in the yield of rice are pronounced and epidemics and endemics are taking away a large number of human lives and affecting the health of the nation, this again affecting food production. Coming to the present difficulties, the author has given two principal reasons for the shortage of food grains, *viz.*, stoppage of supply from countries overseas and increasing export for defence needs, as also expanding demands of the army. The author is also inclined to believe that price-rise has added to this difficulty, but the implications of price-rise have not been fully discussed. Finally, the problem in Bengal has been discussed and it has been concluded that "the starving people are being mainly fed by comforting assurances and authoritative statements." The arguments have been supported by statistical tables and in many cases the condition in India has been compared with that in foreign countries.

Yet one feels that a little more self-confidence and a little more definiteness in conclusions would have greatly added to the value of the pamphlet. On many vital points the author has quoted the opinion of others but has carefully avoided committing himself to any one of them; he has stated many details but has given no conclusion of his own. For example, in estimating the total rice requirements of Bengal he has given the figures of Major-General Wood, Mr. D. N. Sen and others, but no estimate has been accepted or calculated so that the food policy may be shaped accordingly. We do not know whether to place the rice-eating population in terms of adults at 48 millions or 49 millions, for both the figures have been given (p. 58) without any indication as to which should be preferred. It is of course, not possible to arrive at any exact figure in such discussions, but that is no reason why a closer approximation cannot be made or no opinion preferred. Again, it has been stated in p. 40 that "the seriousness of the situation was confirmed both by Mr. Sarker and Mr. Amery, although Sir Azizul Haque, Major-General Wood and Mr. Suhrawardy maintained that there was hardly any shortage of rice in Bengal." This is not quite correct, for Major-General Wood, even according to this author (*vide* p. 59), admitted shortage but promised to make it up. Moreover, it is unfair to place all these estimates in the same category, for they do not approach the problem in the same manner. According to Major-General Wood, "the important figures to which

all arguments or whether Bengal has a deficiency or sufficiency of rice during 1943 are to be related are the average of past annual production." This method has the obvious defect of assuming that a section would remain starved or semi-starved as usual. The *per capita* basis is better in this respect, but the shortage would naturally be greater on this basis. The ideal calculations would be, as the author has tried to hint, on the nutritional basis, but in that case we would have a huge deficit even in many normal years. The reader may well get confused if these different estimates are quoted without any elucidation of their real implications. As such the pamphlet has been more informative than thought-provoking. The next edition of this brochure should be so enlarged and modified as to give a broader perspective, historically and factually.

BIMALCHANDRA SINHA

Tarkabhasa of Moksakaragupta.—Edited with a Sanskrit Commentary by Embar Krishnamacharya. Gaekwad Oriental Series No. XCIV, Baroda. Pp. 3+111+2. 1942.

In the opening verse Dharmakīrti has been clearly mentioned as the author of this short manual of Buddhist logic (*Dharmakīrtinā . . . tarkabhāṣā prakāśyate*), though in the concluding colophon the Mahāyati Bhikṣu Mokṣākaragupta of Jagaddala Vihāra claims to have composed this work. This astonishing contradiction is probably due to the fact that Mokṣākaragupta in this book has been trying to present to beginners of Buddhist logic the theories elaborated chiefly in the school of Dharmakīrti whom he repeatedly quotes with marks of the highest reverence, e.g., *dīrṇmaṇḍalavikhyātakīrtiḥ kīrtiḥ* (p. 32). Dharmottara too has been once quoted by name, viz., *pratibhāsadharmaḥ sthāūlyam ity uktam Dharmottareṇa* (p. 36). The great Dignāga, however, the founder of the new logic, has nowhere been mentioned by name, though his famous definition of perception (*pratyakṣam kalpanāpōdham*) has been quoted (p. 7). The editor should have mentioned that the sentence "*nā hi tīkṣṇā 'py asidhāṇā 'tmānam chinatti*" (p. 9) is but a paraphrase of Bodhicaryāvatāra, IX. 18.

As the editor has pointed out in his short preface, Mokṣākaragupta was an inmate of the monastery of Jagaddala in North Bengal founded probably in the first half of the twelfth century A.D.; the city of Rāmāvatī, in which this monastery was situated, was founded by Rāmāpāla (accession circa 1080 A.D.) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā.

The text itself, dealing in three chapters with *pratyakṣa*, *svārthānumāna* and *parārthānumāna* respectively, is disappointing. In the very first page Mokṣākaragupta characteristically remarks that knowledge does not proceed *galepādūkānyāyena* against those who are not amenable to reason. But this commendable vigour of expression is scarcely adequate to make up for the crudities of the author. He has for the most part mechanically recapitulated the usual repertory of later Buddhist philosophers. And his language is so obscure that none who cannot claim fluent familiarity with the chief tenets of post-Dignāga Buddhist logic (as presented, for example, by Sāntarakṣita and Kāmalāśīla in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*) will be able to make much out of it. The most interesting part of the book is perhaps the schematic delineation of the sixteen possible negative inferences from non-perception (pp. 16-18).

A word must be said about the amazing number of typographical errors in this little book. Even in the preface (p. 2) we have, for instance, *prakāśanakārmanī* for *prakāśanakarmāṇi* (line 14) and *vaḍodarārajakiya* for *vaḍodarājakiya* (line 15)! Of the two errors in *ucchalaghūma* (p. 2, l. 14), only the first has been corrected in the *suddhipatra*, which altogether fails to take note of many bad mistakes such as *prajjavalat* for *prajjvalat* (p. 8, l. 19). These misprints may awaken the

suspicion that the copyist's confession, which the editor thought fit to print at the end, is, *mutati mutandis*, also his own :—

Yādṛśam pustake dṛṣtam tādṛśam likhitam mayā |
Yadi buddham abuddham vā mama doṣo na dīyate ||

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

The Well of the People.—By Bharati Sarabhai. Published by Visva-Bharati: Distributors, The New Book Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

An aged destitute Brahmin woman in a remote village, earning her livelihood at her spinning wheel, hoarded her tiny savings year after year for the dream of her life—a final pilgrimage to Benares. But when the time came, no one could be found to take her. The dedicated savings were spent in another way. With the co-operation of national workers in her village she built a well—a well for Harijans—the "Well of the People."

The simple and true story appeared in *Harijan* in the summer of 1938. Miss Sarabhai has woven it into an English poem in the form of a dramatic phantasy. She has seen in it the interplay of forces, traditional and revolutionary, which are moulding the destiny of India. The characters of the drama move and speak, aggressive or bewildered against the background of the Himalayas, symbolic of India's ancient heritage, and of the waying crowds of pilgrims at Haridwar or Benares.

The strength of the play is its depth of insight and sincerity of vision. Miss Sarabhai is passionately identified with the half-articulate yearning of India for new yet stable ways of living the old faith. She speaks the universal language of poetry, and while her work is truly national in spirit, it is on a different plane from the political propaganda which, in the hands of a less sensitive artist, it might so easily have become.

There are many passages of very great beauty where this depth and sincerity find satisfying expression. On the whole, however, Miss Sarabhai has not yet achieved the technical skill to give adequate embodiment to her vision. She has not yet caught that inevitable simplicity which is the consummation of great art. Her English, beautiful as it is, is too self-consciously artistic. But because the rest of the matter is there, we shall look forward with eagerness to more of her work, in confidence that she will find her right medium as she grows in experience, and in whole-hearted admiration of what she has already achieved.

MARJORIE SYKES

Ourselfes

I. New Fellows of the Calcutta University.—II. Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lecturer.—III. B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations Results, 1943.—IV. Preliminary and Intermediate Law Examinations Results, June, 1943.—V. Recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education and the University.—VI. The Imperial Record Department and the University.—VII. Asutosh Professorship of Sanskrit.—VIII. Asutosh Museum Notes.

I. NEW FELLOWS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Dr. Snehamay Datta, M.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Lond.), D.I.C., F.N.I., Principal, Rajshahi College, has been nominated an Ordinary Fellow in place of Mr. S. M. Basu, Attorney-at-Law. Dr. Datta has been attached to the Faculty of Science. Mr. K. K. Handique, M.A., Principal, Jorhat College, and Dr. B. Mukherjee, M.B., D.P.H., Director of Public Health, Bengal, have also been nominated Ordinary Fellows. Mr. Handique has been attached to the Faculty of Arts and Dr. Mukherjee to the Faculty of Medicine.

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II. ADHAR CHANDRA MUKHERJEE LECTURER

Professor Bireschandra Guha, M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., has been appointed Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lecturer for the year 1943. The subject on which he will lecture is "Nutritional Problems of Bengal."

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III. B.A. AND B.Sc. EXAMINATIONS RESULTS, 1943

The number of candidates who sat for the B.A. Examination was 5,094, of whom 30 were expelled and 3,227 were successful. Of the successful candidates, 343 passed with Honours (28 in the First Class) and 276 passed with Distinction. The percentage of passes was 66.3 as against 57 in 1942. The number of candidates who sat for the B.Sc. Examination was 1,746, of whom 9 were expelled and 1,330 were successful. Of the successful candidates, 150 passed with Honours (11 in the First Class) and 403 passed with Distinction. The percentage of passes was 76.2 as against 55.3 in 1942.

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IV. PRELIMINARY AND INTERMEDIATE LAW EXAMINATIONS RESULTS, JUNE, 1943*

The number of candidates for the Preliminary Examination was 266, of whom 112 passed, 9 in the First Division. The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Law Examination was 170, of whom 98 passed, 8 in the First Division.

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V. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION AND THE UNIVERSITY

Some time ago the Joint Secretary, Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, forwarded a copy of the Proceedings of the Seventh meeting of the Central Advisory Board to this University and asked for its opinion on the same. The Advisory Board had made recommendations on Adult Education, Training for Social Service, Obscure Passages in Text Books, Promotion of Industrial and Technical Education and several other matters. The University has informed the Jt. Secretary that it is prepared to help the cause of Adult Education in the province in all possible ways. As regards training for Social Service, the University has pointed out that the organisation of such training is in its contemplation. It has also suggested the introduction of a Diploma course to this end.

* * *

VI. THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT AND THE UNIVERSITY

The University has decided to take steps for sending students to the Imperial Record Department for training in Archives Keeping.

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VII. ASUTOSH PROFESSORSHIP OF SANSKRIT

The University has decided to keep the above Professorship in abeyance till 31st May, 1946. Meanwhile Dr. Satkari Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D., of the Department of Sanskrit, has been appointed a whole-time Reader to be in charge of the Department. We congratulate Dr. Mukherjee on his new appointment.

* * *

VIII. ASUTOSH MUSEUM NOTES

It has been decided to re-open the Museum Galleries as soon as the two rooms, formerly in possession of the Museum but now utilised by other Departments, are restored to the Museum. All the exhibits which were sent to Murshidabad, as a measure of safety, have been brought back. The large stone sculptures which were buried underground will be dug up next November.

At a conference between Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology, held in the University on the 19th August, 1943, which was also attended by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Mr. D. P. Ghosh, M.A., Curator, Asutosh Museum and Mr. K. G. Goswami, M.A., Excavation Officer, it was decided to postpone for the present the archaeological excavation at Bangarh, Dt. Dinajpur, which was being conducted by the University for the last few years. Instead it was decided to take up to this end another old and important site at Mahanad, Dt. Hughli, next cold weather.

Subsequently the Director-General of Archaeology visited the Museum and made the following observations in the Distinguished Visitors' Book :—

"I revisited the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University after nearly four years, which include nearly two years of great turmoil, which have profoundly affected cultural institutions all over India. The progress achieved under these conditions is indeed noteworthy, thanks to the genuine interest of the University authorities and the single-minded devotion of the staff, particularly the talented Curator, Mr. D. P. Ghosh, in whom we have one of the ablest Provincial Curators in this country. With the construction of a new Museum, unhappily postponed during the war, Calcutta will have the proud distinction of having two first-class Museums, one all-India and the other a Museum of the status of a Provincial Museum, with more varied collections and better educational facilities than many Provincial Museums can afford in this country. It is time that proper plans were laid for the organisation and improvement of the Museum after the war. . . ."

NOTIFICATION

Benares Hindu University

The subject for the Narsingh Prasad Hari Prasad Buch Metaphysics Prize, for the year 1943-44, is—

Relation between Existence and Value in Indian and Western Philosophy

The Narsingh Prasad Hari Prasad Buch Metaphysics Prize of the value of Rs. 150 will be awarded to an Indian who writes the best essay in English or Hindi on *Relation between Existence and Value in Indian and Western Philosophy*. The essay must bear a suitable motto and must be sent to the Registrar, Benares Hindu University, in a sealed and registered cover, on or before the 31st of January, 1944, with a declaration that it is *bona fide* the competitor's own composition, and also an affidavit countersigned by a local Judicial Officer or by the Principal of the College with which the competitor has been connected in the past, to the effect that he is a strict teetotaler and vegetarian. No part of the essay should contain the name of the competitor.

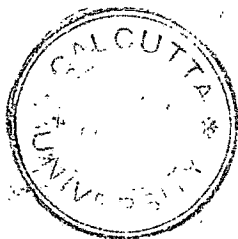
The Prize shall not be awarded unless the judges pronounce the essay worthy of it.

BENARES :

(Sd.) G. P. MEHTA,

The 27th of July, 1943.

Registrar.





THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1943

PUNJAB RECRUITMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST WAR

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

III

SIMLA DISTRICT

THE fourteen districts coming after Gurgaon were more prosperous than those mentioned previously. Among these, Simla district for reasons given below stands in a class by itself for, the economic well-being of its inhabitants depends on factors other than fertility of the soil or irrigational and other facilities.

In 1915, this district had a male population of military age amounting to about 72,500 of whom 217 or roughly $\frac{1}{5}$ per cent were in the army on the 1st January, 1915. By the end of the war, it had 2,213 men in the army which was 3 per cent of its males of military age. This district which lies in the Himalayan tract did not have canal irrigation; whatever crops were raised, were more or less irrigated from local streamlets. The major part of the district described as uncultivable waste from the standpoint of agriculture is not actually unproductive for, in the language of the census authorities, "numbers of people earn or supplement their income by collecting wood and forest produce or by grazing herds and flocks in these wastes." In continuation, it is said that "the underlying assumption that the rural population is dependent on local agriculture is incorrect. In Simla a large proportion of the inhabitants make a living by supplying the transport necessary to the existence of the summer capital in their neighbourhood."

These words from such an authoritative source as the Census Commissioner of the Punjab are sufficient to prove that the inhabitants of this district do not suffer from the same abject poverty which had compelled the inhabitants of say Rawalpindi and Jhelum to join the army in large numbers thus once more confirming the contention that economic necessity was an important factor in the matter of recruitment.

THE SEVEN MORE FAVOURED DISTRICTS.

When we consider the conditions prevailing in the remaining thirteen districts we find that they fall into two classes. Seven of them, viz., Gurdaspur, Ferozepur, Ambala, Gujranwala, Lahore, Mianwali and Karnal have many characteristics in common. These may be summed up as the enjoyment of a rainfall varying from 20 to 34 inches and a fair amount of irrigational facilities. These advantages are, to a certain extent, offset by a soil which can by no means be regarded as very fertile. The effect of these factors is to make life for the inhabitants of these districts none too easy though, at the same time, it has to be admitted that it is not so hard as in the case of the districts characterised as either partially or predominantly unproductive.

The first among these, Gurdaspur, contributed about 2,400 soldiers on the 1st January, 1915. This district is situated in the same tract as Amritsar but has a rainfall of 34 inches. 64 per cent of the area was under cultivation. 11 per cent of this was under canal and 17 per cent under well irrigation. That the district is none too well off and cannot support large numbers is shown by the fact that the population increased between 1911 and 1921 to the extent of 2 per cent only. By the end of the war, this district had contributed 19,204 which was 13.3 per cent. of its males of military age.

Ferozepur among the more favoured districts contributed 2,224 soldiers thus standing below Gurdaspur. According to the report of the Agriculture Department of the Punjab it has "a poor soil" and a rainfall of 20 inches only per year but 46 per cent of the cultivated area was under either canal or well irrigation. The pressure of population on the resources of the district though not excessive was not quite absent and hence the recruitment figures. The total number of men sent by this district to the army rose to 20,539 which was 12.4 per cent of its males of military age.

According to the Punjab Census of 1921, Ambala has a light sandy soil, and is therefore not so adapted to the cultivation of wheat, the staple food of this part of India, as pulses and other inferior crops. It

has been classified with the more favoured districts because it enjoys an average rainfall of 32 inches, the highest for the Punjab being 34 inches. As against this, it had, when the last war was being fought, no canal irrigation while 6 per cent of the cultivated land was under well irrigation. This district was therefore certainly less fortunate than the others referred to elsewhere and, standing third among the more favoured districts, contributed 1,755 soldiers. When hostilities ceased, there were 10,254 men from this district in the army which was 8.4 per cent of its males of military age.

Gujranwala has 23 inches rainfall but 76 per cent of the cultivated area was under irrigation. According to the census of 1921 (Vol. XV, Part I, p. 39), there was some pressure on the means of subsistence in spite of the extensive irrigation facilities and this is reflected in the figures of recruitment. Its contribution to the army which had been 1,643 on the 1st January, 1915, rose till by November, 1918, it was 14,843 which was 9.4 per cent of its males of military age.

To make a long story short, Lahore and Mianwali, when all the relevant facts are taken into consideration, are found to be more fortunately situated than the other districts referred to in this section and they contributed soldiers in smaller numbers. When hostilities had broken out, these two districts had 2,660 men in the army. By the time they had ended, these numbers had gone up to 15,800 which was approximately 7.5 per cent of their total males of military age.

Lahore district with its communication facilities which facilitated the disposal of produce, made a rather poor show contributing as it did about 6 per cent of its males of military age. Most prosperous among the Punjab districts, it stood first so far as contributions to war funds and war charities and investments in the two War Loans are concerned, the former amounting to more than 3 lakhs and the latter to more than 1 crore 54 lakhs. This explains the disinclination of its people for the army.

Karnal lying in the eastern plains of the Punjab has all the characteristic features of Ambala with the difference that it has a more abundant supply of water. It has an average rainfall of 30 inches while 22 per cent of the land was under canal and 14 per cent under well irrigation. The increased prosperity due to the presence of this factor had the usual effect of discouraging recruitment as is evident when we compare the figures of Ambala which contributed 1,750 with those of Karnal which contributed about 630 soldiers. By the end of the war, it had sent 6,819 of its men to the army which was 5 per cent of its males of military age.

In the seven districts of this group, cultivation is intensive, the land available for grazing and other pastoral pursuits is necessarily

limited while the standard of comfort is higher than in the predominantly unproductive and partially productive regions. The pressure of population on land is also no negligible factor. The fertility and yield of the districts which come under this category vary which too is a factor in determining their capacity for retaining at home the people inhabiting them.

Taking these as a whole, these areas have always a large number of men prepared to seek employment away from home in order to add to the family income. Many from these areas had, previous to the last war, gone so far afield in search of remunerative work as Canada and the United States not to speak of Burma, the Straits Settlements and China ports such as Shanghai and Hongkong. The openings offered by the army have always been welcome to people belonging to these areas mainly because the advantages contingent on their occupation of comparatively fertile land are to an appreciable extent, offset by the pressure of population on land and their inclination to maintain their standard of life.

Taking all these seven districts together in which the economic situation was, on the whole, much better than in those groups dealt with previously, we find that they had contributed 11,310 men or about 14 per cent of the Punjab section of the Indian army on the 1st January, 1915, when recruitment was being done under ordinary conditions and when pressure methods had not as yet come into operation.

After we have discussed the recruitment figures for the last six prosperous districts, it will be found that the seven more favoured districts with which we are concerned at present while not as disadvantageously circumstanced as the eight less productive ones, which have been dealt with already, stand midway between them and the six prosperous ones. This explains why their recruitment figures are less satisfactory than those for the eight less favoured districts and at the same time more satisfactory than those for the six prosperous ones which will be dealt with immediately.

THE SIX PROSPEROUS DISTRICTS

A feature common to the districts which will now be considered is that they enjoyed extensive irrigation facilities which enabled their people to lead fairly prosperous lives.

The result of this extensive irrigation has, according to one authority, been that "a new population of a million have found homes in these areas." Continuing he has said,

"With their planned villages and towns, built up with the aid of modern science and organisation, coupled with state assistance and the

beneficent activities of co-operative societies, the Punjab Canal Colonies have become the objects of envy to other provinces. They have added not only to the economic prosperity of the people, but also to a considerable increase in the Punjab's revenue."

We shall now consider how these areas which had derived the greatest benefit from the expansion of canal irrigation introduced by Government demonstrated their gratitude and loyalty to it.

The first of these, Lyallpur, enjoys an average rainfall of 13 inches only but it had 98 per cent. of its cultivated area under irrigation and contributed 338 soldiers out of a total male population of military age numbering 149,000. The Punjab Census of 1921 has described this district as under-populated. That Lyallpur possesses attractions for the agriculturist is evident when we remember that, according to the same authoritative source, its population had increased rapidly between 1911 and 1921 by immigration. Jhang with 86 per cent. of the cultivated area under irrigation and a total of 85,000 males of military age supplied 44 soldiers; Multan with 87 per cent. of the cultivated area under irrigation and a total of 136,400 males of military age contributed 39; Muzaffargarh with 77 per cent. of the cultivated area under irrigation and its 94,500 males of military age sent 18; Montgomery with 87 per cent. of the cultivated area under irrigation and 89,000 males of military age contributed 14 and Dera Gazi Khan with 43 per cent. of the cultivated area under irrigation and 88,500 males of military age supplied only 10 soldiers.

All these figures are for men from these districts who were in the army on the 1st of January, 1915. The total number from all these six districts was 463 which was a little more than half per cent. of the Punjab section of the Indian army.

It is not correct to explain the above-mentioned poor figures by saying that the small numbers were due to the numerical weakness of males of military age. A recruitment of 463 out of a total of 642,400 men of military age belonging to these districts must have other reasons.

If we compare and contrast the state of affairs revealed by these figures with the facts brought out by the figures for Jhelum, we find that in this one district, certainly an unfertile one and practically without any canal irrigation, there were, according to the figures supplied by Mr. M. S. Leigh in that Government publication entitled "The Punjab and the War," 82,300 males of military age of whom 8,652 that is a little more than 10.5 per cent. were serving in the army on the 1st January, 1915. Similarly, in Rawalpindi, the district which stands second in our list, out of about 90,000 males of military age, 8,524 that is a little over 9 per cent. were in the Indian army at the beginning of January, 1915.

Turning to the last five districts in our list,—Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Montgomery and Dera Gazi Khan in which there were abundant facilities for irrigation from canals, rivers, etc., and where the peasantry from whom soldiers are drawn are the most prosperous in the province, we find that they occupied the very bottom of the list contributing as they did only 125 soldiers that is to say about one-sixth per cent. only to the Punjabi sepoys. These districts had a male population of military age numbering a little less than half a million out of which those who enlisted were 125 that is to say about one out of every 4,000 males of military age.

Let us for a moment institute another comparison—this time between Rawalpindi with its 90,000 and Montgomery and Dera Gazi Khan each with its 89,000 males of military age. Unfertile and poor Rawalpindi without canal irrigation sent 8,652 of its hungry sons and Montgomery, fertile through canal irrigation and economically prosperous by reason of bumper crops possible only through a regular supply of adequate quantities of water, sent 14 of its sons! Dera Gazi Khan nearly as prosperous as Montgomery sent 10 soldiers! Jhang with 85,000 and Muzaffargarh with a little more than 94,000 males of military age sent 44 and 18 soldiers only to the army.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND RECRUITMENT

From what has appeared previously, it is evident that the districts coming under our fourth group owed their prosperity mainly to irrigational facilities. Here settlers, generally more intelligent, enterprising and progressive than the original inhabitants, had established themselves. They maintained a high standard of cultivation, were more prosperous than the average Punjab cultivator and, in spite of the military traditions they had inherited, showed little inclination to join the army.

Commenting on the adverse effects of prosperity on recruitment Mr. M. S. Leigh on page 47 of his "Punjab and the War" says,

"Those tracts were most disappointing which had the best reasons for gratitude to the British Government, in the shape of wealth derived from (irrigational) canals or lenient revenue assessments."

Expressing his disappointment over the very poor show made by the people of these areas he observes,

"In too many cases those who now enjoy wealth, of which their grandfathers never dreamed, do not remember that they owe that wealth to the stability and efficiency of the Government, that it will disappear as soon as that Government becomes unstable or inefficient, and that they

themselves should take their part in upholding the Government against its enemies."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab during the period with which we are concerned here, has said on page 227 of his autobiography "India As I Knew It"—

"Their very prosperity and the needs of a highly developed agriculture were among the causes that kept back Sikhs and Mahomedans of Lahore, Lyallpur and Gujrat."

Elsewhere in the same book, Sir Michael has explained the poor response made to the call for recruitment by the Mahomedans of Montgomery, Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Gazi Khan, the Sikhs of Lahore, Lyallpur and Gujranwala and the Jats of Karnal and Ambala as being due to identical reasons.

What is worth remembering in this connection is that the people of these very groups inhabiting economically backward parts of the Punjab had joined the army in very large numbers contributing among them more than 75 per cent. of the total strength of the Punjab section of the Indian army and more than 50 per cent. of their males of military age. This is proved by what follows. The Jats have not been referred to separately because some of them are Sikhs, some Mussalmans and others Hindus.

The Muhammadans constituted about 50 per cent. of the total population of the Punjab and, according to the returns of the military authorities, they contributed 51.4 per cent. of the combatants to the last war. Much has been said with regard to their martial nature. In this connection we should remember that according to the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" (Vol. XX, p. 209) a majority among them are of Rajput descent and that "they do not rank high as cultivators." This proves that incapable of wresting a living from the soil, they instinctively turn to the army for a living.

Another fact still more significant is that the high percentages in the recruitment achieved by the Punjabi Mussalmans was, in the language of Mr. M. S. Leigh, author of "Punjab and the War" due "mainly to the men of the North-West and Central Districts: the essentially Muhammadan South-West was far below their standard." This is also the view expressed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer on page 226 of his autobiography.

It need only be repeated once again by way of comment that economic distress is the rule in the North-West and Central districts and that in the South-West we have the canal colonies where life is easier and the economic condition more satisfactory.

The Baluchis, who according to Sir William Hunter, are of undoubted Iranian stock are found in very large numbers in South-West Punjab and specially in the Dera Gazi Khan district. As is stated elsewhere, 43 per cent. of the area under cultivation in this district was under canal irrigation. There was no pressure on the means of subsistence and the people were well off. This district had only ten soldiers in the army on the 15th January, 1915. On the 30th November, 1918, there were only 1,012 men from this district in the army out of a total of nearly 90,000 males of military age. Contributing a little over one per cent. of its males of military ages, it occupied the last place but one among the Punjab districts. And yet the Baluchis of Shahpur, where economic distress was very much greater, contributed large numbers to the cavalry.

According to both Mr. M. S. Leigh and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Sikhs of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Gujrat, of Ludhiana and certain tahsils of Ferozpur, where a poor soil, limited irrigation facilities and the exactions of money-lenders were the rule, contributed large numbers to the army but not so the Sikhs of Lahore and Lyallpur where conditions were easier.

The same authorities have also stated that the Hindus of Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Rohtak and Gurgaon were recruited in large numbers but not those of the Centre and the West where they were more prosperous.

THE INEVITABLE CONCLUSION

Some reference has been made previously to the chronic lack of adequate amounts of food grains and other crops so far as the 14 districts belonging to our first two groups are concerned. We have also found the presence of certain factors necessitating the earning of money in the case of the people inhabiting the districts coming under our third group. It is not therefore surprising that all these people should seek service in the army. In some cases, the immediate motive would be the plentiful supply of good food and clothing not usually available to the ordinary peasant on account of his poverty. In the case of others, there was the temptation of wages paid regularly and on a scale higher than that generally obtainable by the rural worker.

The members of the family would withdraw all opposition when they realised that recruitment of an unemployed male member would not only mean one mouth less to feed but also the receipt of a portion of his wages. This could be used in paying the landlord and the money-lender and in living a more comfortable life.

The adventurous among the men would be tempted by the desire to see new lands and new people. There might be opportunities for a little dissipation hitherto rendered impossible through poverty. There was the prospect of even a little looting if the officers were not too strict. These were, in the main, the real reasons which led the men to join the army and it is noteworthy that the largest number of men was always drawn from those areas where the economic pressure was the greatest as also that where this was absent, as in the case of the districts coming under our fourth group, the recruitment figures were low.

Any attempt to explain away the lack of an adequate number of soldiers from the six prosperous districts forming our fourth group on the ground that they are inhabited by non-martial races will be futile for the very good reason that, for decades, there has always been inter-district migration of the population and that the canal areas were largely colonised by people coming from the so-called martial districts which stand at the head of our list. If these people grew soft and unwarlike, it must have been only after the transfer of their homes to the more fertile parts of the Punjab.

The suggestion of the present writer is that in the matter of enlisting in the army, it was not so much a question of the possession of a martial spirit as one of economic necessity. If we are honest enough to recognise facts and to give expression to our opinion frankly, we must admit that fundamentally these people were nothing but mercenaries. And as mercenaries, the principal attraction service in the Indian army had for them was the pecuniary rewards it had to offer. Naturally enough, pecuniary inducements had their strongest appeal for those inhabiting the unfertile districts of the Punjab, less so for those occupying its less prosperous parts and none at all for those leading prosperous lives in the irrigated areas.

That this is true even to-day is acknowledged by "The Fighting Forces," the British periodical dealing with army affairs which, according to the Editorial Notes of the "Social Welfare" said in one of its recent issues that,

"In Great Britain and America every workman and employer regards this as his personal war. The Indian does not. It is true that Indian output has increased several hundredfold since the outbreak of the (present) war, but the best can be said of this is that the private soldier has so far voluntarily responded under the stimulus of profit and employment."

LORD CORNWALLIS AND SLAVE TRADE IN BENGAL

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D.

Keeper of the Records of the Government of India

SLAVERY as an institution was not repugnant to Hindu or Muslim law. While an owner was clearly enjoined to treat his human chattels with kindness and courtesy his proprietary right in them was never questioned. Slavery prevailed all over the civilised world and formed an economic basis of organised society. The East India Company cannot therefore, be blamed if they found nothing unnatural or inhuman in a system of property which had the fullest support of law and sanction of antiquity when they assumed the government of Bengal. Though Lord Mansfield decided as early as 1772 that "as soon as a slave set his foot on the soil of the British islands he became free," slavery continued to flourish in the British colonies and the slave owners of Jamaica found an able advocate in youthful Gladstone as late as 1833. Mansfield's judgment, however, did not render traffic in slaves in any way illegal nor did it immediately lead to the abolition of slavery in the Empire. It only made importation of slaves into the British Isles unprofitable. The trade itself was vigorously denounced by humanitarians like Sharpe, Clarkson and Wilberforce, but public conscience was slow to respond and the legislature long declined to be moved by their impassioned eloquence. In 1776 the House of Commons refused to admit that "the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." In 1792 the Commons rejected Wilberforce's motion to prohibit further importation of slaves into the colonies of the West Indies by 163 votes to 88, and it was not until 1807 that traffic in human cargo was ultimately declared illegal by the British Parliament. Lord Cornwallis and his employers could, therefore, rightly claim to be far in advance of the public opinion in India and England; for they set their face against this nefarious commerce and made an honest attempt to put a stop to it full seventeen years before the mother country decided to withhold her legal sanction from a trade that brought more lucre than honour. On July 27, 1789, Mr. Hay, in his capacity as Secretary to the Government of Fort William, published the following proclamation in an extraordinary issue of the Calcutta Gazette:—

"Whereas information, the truth of which cannot be doubted, has been received by the Governor-General in Council that many NATIVES and

some EUROPEANS, in opposition to the Laws and Ordinances of this country and the dictates of Humanity, have been for long time in the practice of purchasing or collecting Natives of both Sexes, Children as well as Adult, for the purpose of exporting them for Sale as SLAVES in different parts of India or elsewhere, AND WHEREAS the Governor-General in Council is determined to exert to the utmost extent the Power and Authority vested in him, in order to prevent such practice in future, and to deter by the most exemplary punishment those Persons who are not to be otherwise restrained from committing the offence, His Lordship hereby declares that all and every Person or Persons, subject to the Jurisdiction of the Court, or in any respect to the Authority of this Government, who shall in future be concerned directly or indirectly in the above-mentioned inhuman and detestable Traffic, shall be Prosecuted with the utmost rigour in the Supreme Court at the expense of the Company, and if British-born Subjects, shall be forthwith ordered to Europe, or if such Person or Persons be not subject to the Court's Jurisdiction, he or they, upon information being given to the Magistrate of the Place or District in which the offence shall have been committed, shall be apprehended by him, and kept in confinement, to be dealt with according to the Laws of the Country.

And that no one may plead ignorance hereof, the SUPERINTENDENTS of the Police for the Town of Calcutta, and the MAGISTRATES of ADALWUTS in the several parts of the Country, are hereby required to give immediate Notice of this Proclamation in such manner as shall render the knowledge of it universal to Persons of all Descriptions, and to repeat the same on the First Day of January in every Year: They are further directed to pay the strictest attention to the Regulations contained in it, and to take the most active steps in their power to enforce them.

And that all Persons offending against this Proclamation may be brought to punishment for the same, and the unhappy Sufferers rescued from misery, a Reward of One Hundred Sicca Rupees is hereby offered for the discovery of every such offender to be paid on his conviction before the Supreme Court of Judicature, or before the Magistrate of the District, and of Fifty Rupees for each Person of either Sex, who shall be delivered from Slavery or illegal confinement in consequence of such discovery. The money will be paid to the Informer or Informers on his or their application to the Secretary of Government and presenting to him a Certificate of the conviction of the Person or Persons committing the Offence of which such Informer or Informers made discovery.

The GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL further recommends to British Commercial Houses and Private Merchants to assist, as far as depends

upon them, in carrying these Regulations into effect by taking the most effectual means in their power to prevent the Commanders of their Ships or Vessels, or of Ships or Vessels consigned to them, or otherwise placed under their directions, from carrying away NATIVES of this Country in order to sell them for SLAVES.

The MASTER ATTENDANT of this Port is hereby forbidden to grant in future an English Pilot to any Ship or Vessel, the Commander of which shall not have previously declared upon Oath that there are not then on board, and that he will not during his continuance in the River consent to receive on board, any Natives to be exported as slaves with an intent to dispose of them at some Foreign Place, or whom he (the Commander) has any reason to imagine will be disposed of as such after they leave this country.

And the MASTER ATTENDANT is hereby directed to give notice to all the Native Pilots that, if they should pilot out any Vessel having on board Natives of this Description, knowing or believing them to be such, the Privilege of piloting will be taken from them for ever, and their Names and Offence registered. And that no one may plead ignorance of this order, it is hereby directed that it be placed constantly in view at the Banksaul in the English and Country Languages.

PROCLAIMED at FORT WILLIAM in BENGAL, this 22nd day of July, 1789.

By Order of the Governor-General in Council

E. HAY, Secretary to the Government.

Cornwallis was fully aware that prohibition of slave trade in itself might not go far to improve the lot of the slaves. On the contrary the consequent depreciation of their market value might conceivably affect their master's interest in them and cause in the less considerate owners an intelligible disinclination to maintain their human stock at the proper standard. The peculiar custom of the country often recognised a limited kind of slavery which permitted the owner to take all sorts of liberties with the temporary slaves. It was obviously necessary that the state should extend its protection to these unfortunate wretches and get their rights legally defined. Cornwallis proceeded with great caution. Anxious as he was to insure the welfare of the slaves, he was not prepared to alienate the owners and thereby defeat his humanitarian object. He caused another proclamation to be drafted but before its publication he sent it to Muhammad Riza Khan for his considered opinion. As will be obvious from the letter quoted below, the Governor-General did not want to offend the vested

interests, while the enclosure clearly testifies to his solicitude for the well-being of a long suffering section of society.

“ To Muhammad Riza Khan,¹ dated the 3rd August, 1789.

Being desirous at all times to adopt such measures as will tend to the happiness of the people of these countries who are under the protection of the Company: and more particularly those whose poverty and indigence makes it necessary, in order for their subsistence, for them to put themselves under the authority of others more opulent, even to that degree as to sell themselves and their children as slaves, I have come to the Resolution of issuing a Proclamation containing such Regulations as shall be productive of the success of my wishes. But as this practice of purchasing and keeping people as slaves has been long established, and is in great usage among both Mussulmans and Hindus: and not desirous, however great the objects in view, to infringe the customs and established usage of this country, or in any sense to act contrary to the Laws of the different sects of the people of these soubahs, I enclose you a (Persian) Translation of the Proclamation at present in contemplation to be published, and request you will give in writing your opinion specifically on the contents of it, and state to me such objections as may occur to you to any part of it.

*Proclamation.*²—Whereas it is the ancient custom of this country to keep boys and girls as slaves for stated period and consideration, the Governor General is pleased to promulgate the following Rules in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the misery of those unfortunate people, who, faced with starvation and death in abnormal times, offer themselves or their children to serve as *ajirs* ³ to others who would provide them with food and clothing.

In all cases where a person offers himself as an *ajir*, an agreement in the form given in the schedule annexed⁴ will have to be executed before a District Judge, who shall register it after fully satisfying himself about the correctness of the entries and propriety of the terms and conditions of the contract. The document will be handed over to the *ajir* duly signed by the District Judge and the *Qazi*. The agreement must be executed in all cases whether the *ajir* is male or female or the person taking the *ajir* is of either sex. If a male person takes a female

¹ Imperial Record Department: Translations of Letters Issued, Vol. 35, pp. 128-29, No. 145.

² Imperial Record Department: Copies of Persian Letters Issued, Vol. 20, pp. 544-47, No. 188. This copy is badly worm-eaten and in parts unintelligible.

³ One who has entered into an engagement for a stipulated sum to serve another for a specific term, or until he repays the sum advanced; hireling, bondsman.

⁴ Not forthcoming.

ajir to serve him, it shall be specified in the agreement that he would not cohabit with her without proper wedlock, otherwise the contract will become void. Anyone found guilty of acting contrary to this rule in his dealings with his *ajir* shall be punished by the District Judge according to the law of the land and the *ajir* shall be set free and his bond cancelled.

It shall be optional for the *ajir* to leave his master after the expiry of the term of the bond or to continue with him according to his free choice. If, however, he is detained after that period against his will, the Court will compel the *mustajir* to pay him reasonable remuneration for his or her services for the period so detained.

Anyone giving information of any person engaged in the slave trade shall be rewarded and the person so engaged shall be duly punished. [Those who earn their livelihood from] the auction of slaves at Calcutta or other towns are hereby warned [not to sell *ajirs*] as slaves, otherwise they would be punished by the Supreme Court.

Muhammad Riza Khan fully shared his lordship's anxiety for safeguarding what slender rights the ancient laws and customs of the country still conceded to the slaves but suggested a few alterations in the original draft, as will be evident from the letter that follows, in order to remove certain unnecessary inconvenience that the slaves and the owners alike might otherwise experience. It is to be noted that he was definitely of opinion that in times of famine and scarcity slavery offered the only alternative to death from starvation and the loss of personal liberty found ample compensation in assured provision of food and raiments. It was in exceptional cases that the *mustajirs* (owners of *ajirs* or slaves) subjected their *ajirs* to harsh and unkind treatment. During the Great Famine of 1770 thousands of poor people perished of hunger, Muhammad Riza Khan asserts, because a sufficient number of *mustajirs* did not come to their rescue. Hundreds of famished people no doubt would like to sell themselves to men of opulence capable of providing them with a miserable hut and two meals a day.

Letter from Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan,¹ dated 22 *Zulqa'da* 1203 A.H. (15 August, 1789), received 20 August.—“I have received your lordship's letter enclosing the draft of a proclamation regarding people who deliver themselves up as bondsmen to those who support them in times of distress and want. (Here follows a recapitulation of his lordship's letter.) Your lordship desires to know if there is any objection or difficulty in promulgating the order. In compliance with your lordship's order

¹ Imperial Record Department : Original Persian Letters Received, 1789, nos. 201-02.

I venture to offer my views on the subject as I understand it. In this country, even the poorest man will not offer himself or his child to become the slave of another unless for want of sustenance he is confronted with the alternative of life or death. In times of famine or dearth when thousands of men lose their lives some poor men would sacrifice themselves and their children to some wealthy person for a small consideration, or none at all, in order that their lives might be saved in times of utter helplessness. When the crisis has passed some of them remain with their masters of their own accord while others run away from their homes, if they are not treated well. If the case goes to court the District Judge orders the release of such bondsmen who are technically called *ajirs*. But most masters treat them with kindness and consideration and maintain their honour and employ them on the work for which they are suited. They scrupulously refrain from treating them in any unlawful manner. Such relationship is advantageous to both parties. In the draft proclamation it is laid down that no one can be made an *ajir* without execution of the prescribed bond before a District Judge. The difficulty in complying with this condition will be that many men who might be compelled by dire distress to offer themselves to their own country to serve as *ajirs* may not be able to approach the District Judge and lose all hopes of saving their lives. Similarly, the *mustajirs* (or those who would like to take the *ajirs*) would be deterred by reason of having to undertake long journeys in order to reach the District Judge and to execute a bond fixing the amount of the wages and the period of the service of the *ajir* according to the direction of the court, while according to the ancient custom the *ajirs* and *mustajirs* settled the terms among themselves. In the famine of 1177 Bengali (1770-71) and that of the last year thousands perished for want of *mustajir* support them. In my humble opinion, therefore, the procedure of adopting an *ajir* should be simplified so that those reduced to extremity of offering themselves to their own countrymen to serve as *ajirs* may get instant relief and save their lives as soon as a *mustajir* agrees to take them. Such conditions as will lead to delay, procrastination and hindrance should not, therefore, be included in the proclamation. I have accordingly drafted a fresh proclamation embodying such conditions as will protect the *ajirs* from severe hardship and will prevent their being subjected to cruelty, oppression and unlawful treatment, which is in accordance with your lordship's intention. I enclose it for your lordship's approval.

Enclosure.—Whereas it is the ancient custom of this country to keep boys and girls as slaves for stated period and consideration the Governor-General is pleased to promulgate the following rules in

to alleviate the sufferings and improve the lot of such of the poorest people who, faced with starvation and death in abnormal times, offer themselves or their children to serve as *ajirs* to those who would provide them with food and clothing.

1. The District Judge shall take bonds from the zamindars and *ta'alluqdars* under him that if any poor man shall for want of food and clothing become the *ajir* of some well-to-do person or offer his children in that capacity, the local zamindars and *ta'alluqdars* shall get a bond executed, specifying the amount of the consideration money and the period of service agreed upon by the parties. The bond shall contain the further provision that the *ajir* cannot be sold to any foreigner, must not be oppressed and must be provided with adequate food and clothing. It may be written either in Persian or Bengali and must be witnessed properly and sealed with the seal of a *qazi*. The zamindars and *ta'alluqdars* will also keep a record of the transaction containing the name, father's name and address of both the *ajir* and the *mustajir*. They will also enquire whether the *mustajir* has the means to support the *ajir*. If it is found that he carries on slave trade and purchases ten or twenty or more poor children in order to sell them, then he must be produced before the District Judge to be punished according to law.

2. If any person, whether Muslim or Hindu, takes an *ajir*, whether male or female, major or minor, he can employ him or her on such work as is permissible under the Muslim and Hindu law. But anyone found guilty of mutilating the *ajir's* person by cutting off his or her ear or nose, or branding or chaining him or her, or committing rape or unnatural offence on him or her, or selling him or her to a foreigner as a slave, or forcing him or her to lead a life of sin for earning money, will be punished by the District Judge according to the law of the land, and the *ajir* will be set free and his bond cancelled.

3. The provisions of rule 2 shall apply equally to both *ajirs* and *mustajirs*, whether male or female.

4. It shall be optional for the *ajir* either to leave his master after the expiry of the term of the bond or continue with him according to his free choice. If he is detained by the *mustajir* after that period, the Court will compel the latter to pay him a reasonable remuneration for his or her services.

5. The rules of this notification shall not apply to those who became *ajirs* or slaves before the date of its promulgation.

6. Anyone giving information of any person selling *ajirs* to a foreigner as slaves will receive a stated sum of money as reward. The

person who is proved to have been engaged in such trade will receive a deterrent and exemplary punishment.

7. Anyone giving information of any person purchasing boys and girls or men or women with the object of exporting them as slaves to another country will receive a monetary reward. The person engaged in such trade will be punished, the *ajirs* will be set free and sent to their homes at the cost of the *mustajirs*. Those who earn their livelihood from the auction of slaves at Calcutta or other towns are warned not to sell *ajirs* as slaves, otherwise they would be punished by the Supreme Court."

It is needless to observe that a long standing evil cannot be undone with a stroke of the pen. When an illicit trade offers ample profit, human ingenuity is never at a loss to find some means of circumventing the inconvenient law. The slave dealers of Europe long evaded the invigilation of the British fleet, and it was futile to expect that Cornwallis should succeed in a task to which the greater resources of the British Government later proved unequal. The Governor-General was lucky in securing the co-operation of his French neighbour of Chandernagore. The Calcutta Gazette of the 17th September, 1789 (*Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. II, pp. 228-29) noted with approbation and pleasure that "Monsieur Montigny, Governor of Chandernagore, has lately issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons within the jurisdiction of the French Government from purchasing or transporting any of the natives of these provinces as slaves and, in order more effectually to prevent this infamous practice, a reward of forty rupees is offered to any person who shall give information of the offender, besides the sum of ten rupees to be given to each slave who shall be released in consequence. Both sums were to be paid by the offender. The Master Attendant of Chandernagore is also directed to see that no native be embarked without an order signed by the Governor, and all Captains of vessels trading to the port of Chandernagore are strictly prohibited from receiving any natives on board." The Governor of Chandernagore had apparently taken his cue from his British *confrère*, for both the proclamations bear the same features. But the joint Anglo-French campaign proved ineffective and two years later the Calcutta Gazette mournfully commented (2nd June, 1791, *Selections*, Vol. II, p. 291) that "from the late excellent regulations of this Government, and the co-operation of the foreign Settlements, we were induced to hope that the detestable traffic of transporting children from provinces as slaves had been entirely abolished; we have been the more concerned, therefore, to hear that a Telingah vessel was stopped near Ingellee last week by the activity of Mr. Hewitt, who went on board the

vessel himself, and liberated seven and twenty unfortunate wretches, boys and girls of different ages, who had been kidnapped and put on board."

On the 11th September, 1794, another proclamation signed by Mr. Hay (*Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. II, pp. 132-34) sounded a note of frustration. Despite the reward offered by the Government for the apprehension of slave-dealers and the vigilant watch kept over the Europe-bound vessels, "sundry persons, natives of Bengal and other parts of India, had been unlawfully and unjustly sold as slaves" at St. Helena. It appears that the poor victims were passed off as personal servants of a passenger when the ship left Calcutta and were later sold at St. Helena and other settlements on the way when a suitable purchaser was found. Past and future offenders were threatened with "the severest displeasure of Government and the most rigorous prosecution in the courts of law" and "all persons, in whose service natives shall embark from Bengal for England," were required "to give good and sufficient security against such natives being sold, or given away as slaves, at St. Helena, or at any other place or settlement, during the voyage of Europe," but it may be safely surmised that this proclamation met with no better success than its predecessors.

The glory and honour of abolishing slave trade in India were denied to Cornwallis. But in all fairness we should judge him by what he intended and not by what he achieved. A man's ideals sometimes form a better measure of his real worth than his success.

THE COLOUR BAR AND WORLD PEACE

SOME time ago in an address at York Mr. L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, referred to a basic problem which has faced the world for several centuries already and which will demand some kind of satisfactory solution after the War. Mr. Amery has referred to the relations inside the British Empire between the white people and those whom they describe as coloured. He thinks that unless these relations are placed on a satisfactory basis before long, the world might expect in a not distant future a violent struggle between races, whose effects may not be less disastrous than those of the present war. We do not know why Mr. Amery has referred to this problem as being one of the British Empire only. This may be due to mere political discretion. It is of course true that within the Empire itself the relations between races are more unsatisfactory than many people may think them to be. But all the same it should not be ignored that outside the Empire also the colour problem is not less acute. In fact, the colour bar is a problem which should be studied and can be solved only on the global basis.

In this connection it is pertinent to refer to the new philosophy which has been preached and practised in Nazi Germany. During the last one decade pseudo-philosophers and scientists enunciated in that country the theory of the superiority of the Nordic race over all other races including even the other white races in Europe. Along with the predominance which the Nordic Germans would, according to these philosophers, exercise over the Latin and the Slavic races in Europe, there would follow a still more stringent supremacy of the white Germans over the coloured peoples of the colonies which would be conquered from the decadent British and French Empires. So optimistic in fact were the Germans as to their future that a few years ago they actually set up an institute in Munich, in which young men were to be trained for colonial administration. One of the first principles which were to be inculcated in these would-be administrators was that the coloured colonial peoples should be treated definitely as inferior in every respect. Socially they were to be kept at an arm's length. Educationally they were to be regarded as not fit for higher culture, and politically they were to be treated as unfit for self-rule. The defeat of Germany in the present war will certainly put a stop to the growth of this pernicious philosophy. But it should not be ignored that it has already stimulated to some extent the racial arrogance of the peoples

of those white countries which were influenced even partially by Nazi principles.

Emphasis should be placed to a still greater extent upon the problem of the colour bar in the new world. In Central and South America the position in most of the states may not be very serious. But even there the racial relations are not every where quite satisfactory. It should be noted that in Argentina, *e.g.*, the attitude of the white inhabitants is rather aggressive. It is, however, in North America and particularly in the U.S.A. that the problem has assumed a dangerous proportion. So it may be said that the colour question is not only not confined to the British Empire but that without its solution in the U.S.A. in particular and the American continent in general its satisfactory solution inside the British Empire is out of the question. The reasons are obvious. The U.S.A. has been for decades far too important a country not to influence ideas and outlook of the white peoples abroad. During the present war this influence of the U.S.A. has considerably increased and after its conclusion it is likely to increase further still. In view of this it is only to be expected that in the post-War world the United States will be an example to the other white nations, which will draw inspiration from it in regard to inter-racial relations as in other matters. It may be taken for granted on this account that the problem of the colour bar cannot be solved on an isolated basis within the British Empire alone. In fact, any attempt at a piecemeal solution will be abortive. Though such an attempt may very well begin within the British Empire, its success will depend largely upon its reaction upon the white Americans.

In view of the important part which the U.S.A. happens to play in regard to colour bar, it is not out of place to provide here some details in this respect. The colour bar in the new world is really as old as the voyages of discovery, undertaken by the European nations. It dates more particularly from the conquest of Mexico and Peru by the Spanish. The superior military skill used by the whites engendered in them a superiority complex. The introduction of the negro as a slave in the British Colonies of America confirmed this attitude of superiority. That the institution of slavery entailed a good deal of cruelty to the black negroes, no impartial person will deny. There have been no doubt many writers and pamphleteers who have tried to minimise the cruelty practised by the white masters upon their negro slaves and otherwise to whitewash the relations which subsisted between them. But they also, while painting a relation of intimacy between the whites and the blacks, have succeeded in bringing out into relief only an attitude of condescending kindness on the part of some of the white masters towards their "darkies." If any example is

necessary it is supplied by the picture so cleverly and ingeniously drawn in Margaret Mitchel's book "GONE WITH THE WIND." We are referring to this work only because for several years it has enjoyed a world-wide popularity. Its pages bristle with pictures of happy and kind relations between the white masters and the negro slaves. The latter are described as being treated kindly and taken care of very nobly. They also in their turn reciprocate the sentiments and act as good members of their masters' families. But through all the pages, inspite of this glorification of the slavery days, even a superficial reader will notice that the relations between the whites and the blacks were really those of hereditary masters and old servants. So, the treatment of the blacks might have been cruel or kind. But the fact remains that in every instance the relations were between superiors and inferiors. Nor could this be otherwise in slavery days.

So long as slavery lasted and the white masters could do with impunity whatever they liked with their black slaves, the relations might have been in many cases those of condescending intimacy. But the liberation of the slaves, and that by means of a civil war, embittered the feelings of the erstwhile masters who became determined, inspite of the law, to maintain their own supremacy and treat the negro population as inferior in every respect. It was as a result of this determination that the status of equality and the right of franchise which the laws conferred upon the black population became completely neutralised. In order that the negroes might not either come into the legislatures themselves or influence elections to them by the exercise of the franchise, they were deprived of it, inspite of definite constitutional provisions, in a brazen-faced manner. In society also lest the former slaves and their descendants should assert their right of equality as free citizens, all kinds of devices were made to keep them down. The first and foremost of them was the policy of segregation by which the negroes have not been allowed in the Southern States to live in the neighbourhood of the whites, to move about in the same conveyances, to enjoy leisure in the same parks and to get their education in the same schools.

This policy of keeping the negroes down as inferior people has been no doubt particularly pursued in the Southern States, but it cannot be said that the Northern half of the Union has been altogether spared this contagion. In fact, even in the city of New York, there is only one area, viz., Harlem, where the negroes can have their residential and business quarters. Residence in any other locality is to all intents and purposes a taboo for them. In the city of Detroit not long ago there was a good deal of furore among the white people on the ground that some apartment

houses were being built for negro lodgers in a white locality. Later there were racial riots as well.

That the white Americans do not as a rule want any fundamental change in the existing relations between themselves and their coloured co-citizens is indicated by the steps which are sometimes taken to influence other Governments and peoples in respect of their attitude towards the American negroes. During the last War, for instance, when the American Expeditionary Force was sent to France under General Pershing, a memorandum of instructions was submitted to the French authorities regarding the kind of treatment which the French people should mete out to the negro soldiers of the American Force. In this memorandum it was definitely laid down that the French people, in maintaining social relations with these negro soldiers, should bear in mind their social status in the United States. It is no wonder that after this the black soldiers did not meet with very kind treatment in many places.

The procedure adopted in celebrating the American Independence Day in Calcutta last July shows as well very clearly that responsible white Americans are in favour of not only maintaining the colour bar between their white and black forces but also of observing a similar bar between the former and the Indian people here. The most important feature of the celebration on the 4th of July in Calcutta was that the American whites and the American negroes in this city observed their function in two separate places—the former at the Great Eastern Hotel and the latter at the Town Hall. It is significant that while the function at the Great Eastern Hotel was limited to the American whites and to their European invitees, only to the function at the Town Hall some Indian guests were invited. Both the functions must have been organised by some one American agency in the city and it may be repeated that the way it organised the celebration of the greatest event in American history throws a good deal of light upon its attitude not only towards the relations between the white Americans and their negro co-citizens but also between the white Americans and the Indian people.

More than two decades ago when the victors of the last war met at the Peace Conference at Versailles and proceeded to fashion the organisation of the League of Nations to make further wars impossible, a suggestion was made by some Asiatic delegates that either in the Preamble or in one of the Articles of the League Covenant the principle of equality among the races should be incorporated. But the American President, the late Dr. Woodrow Wilson, who was presiding over the Committee, opposed the suggestion and pointed out that unless there was unanimity, it could not be incorporated in the Covenant in any form as desired. As

he himself on behalf of the United States and the delegates of some of the British Dominions were against the proposal, unanimity could not be expected and the suggestion had accordingly to be dropped. In other words, when the war which was fought "to end all wars" and "to make democracy safe" was actually terminated, the United States and the British Dominions made common cause in maintaining the colour bar. For some years after this, American opinion had appeared to change for the better, particularly as a reaction against the activities of the Ku Klux Klan which was revived and the lynching which was committed rather widely under its inspiration. The better elements of the white population of the U.S.A., particularly in the North, seemed to assert themselves against these racial brutalities and a chastened view of race relations seemed to be increasingly taken. But that only the surface has so far been scratched in regard to colour prejudice is evident from the present-day attitude. In fact, such prejudice still remains as deeply embedded as one might expect it to be.

Apart from the hostile attitude towards the negro citizens, there are, in fact, other matters also in which the white settlers of the United States have given evidence of their intense colour prejudice. The attitude taken up at Versailles and referred to above supplied one such evidence. The Immigration Act of 1924 provides another clear proof of this prejudice. It makes impossible the entry of people of non-white origin into the United States for purposes of residing there permanently and acquiring the right of citizenship in that country. While the white peoples of different countries including the Jews are allowed entry to this end on the basis of a quota system, people who are not of the so-called Caucasian origin are rigidly debarred. If this law is an indication of anything, it certainly indicates the desire of the white people of the United States to keep up the myth of white superiority.

We have so far given prominence to the problem of the colour bar in the United States on the ground, as stated already, that without its solution there it is very unlikely that this problem will be satisfactorily solved either inside the British Empire or outside it in the world at large. We may now say a few words about this question in the Empire itself. That among the Britishers, particularly among those of them who have settled in non-white countries, there is a good deal of colour prejudice and a sense of racial superiority, need not be disputed by anybody. That much of it was engendered by the military defeat which they inflicted and the political supremacy which they imposed upon the local peoples years ago, is also indisputable. But whatever might be the reasons, the fact stands out that the colour bar is the basic ingredient

of the relationship between the white settlers and the "natives" inside the British Empire in Asia, Africa and Australasia.

This is not to mean that in Britain itself colour prejudice is not noticeable. In fact, it exists there in more than one form. It is, however, cherished as a rule in a silent manner. Only now and again it breaks out openly and leads to some noise. The treatment meted out to Sir Hari Singh Gour some time ago and to a famous West Indian cricketer recently supplies illustrations. But it may be repeated that the colour bar is observed in Britain itself in the characteristic British way without noise and furore. It is only in the colonies and dependencies that the British happen to practise it in a brazen-faced manner.

Until recently there was not a field in which the white people would not show in India their colour prejudice towards the local inhabitants who were in their eyes mere "natives." In clubs, in parks, in railway compartments, in hill stations and in Government offices the display of such prejudice was an everyday affair. Nor can it be said that it has altogether disappeared *even now*. The late Mr. Montagu, when he visited this country in 1917, was scandalised by this attitude of the Britishers here. He has left it on record in his *Indian Diary* that although they were, under forces of circumstances, constrained to work with their Indian colleagues on an equal basis in Government offices, they were absolutely unwilling to consort with them in any field of social relationship. Since Montagu wrote there may have been some improvement but the basic problem still remains to be solved.

In other parts of the British Empire, also where the Indians have emigrated, they have been treated on a distinctly inferior basis. It is not necessary at this place to go into the details of the treatment they have met with in South Africa, Kenya and other parts of the far-flung British Empire. In South Africa it is enough to say that a climax has now been reached by the passing of the recent Pegging Act. Nor can it be said that either in Australia or in Canada, the Indians have met with treatment which may be regarded as satisfactory in any way. Immigration of Indians into these countries has been stopped rather rigidly by the adoption of one method or another. By the imposition of the education test people, however educated, are excluded if they are of Indian origin. In Canada again there is the principle of the so-called continuous voyage. As the Indians going to Canada have to change steamers at Hongkong, they cannot have a continuous voyage to that country and as such they are excluded from settlement.

The policy of the colour bar, which has been pursued against the Indian people both in this country and outside it and against the people

of African descent in the American continent, has been extended to the people of Africa since that continent was opened for European colonisation and settlement. For years the latter have been treated as only hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own land. The rapid loss of Malaya and Burma to the Japanese invaders in 1942 awakened many people to the unwisdom of discriminatory treatment of the local inhabitants. In many circles it was even suggested that the colonies in Africa and elsewhere should be placed under international control so that no one nation might exploit them without improving the conditions of the local inhabitants. As a counterblast to this demand, the theory of trusteeship which had been vainly trotted out for years has been emphasised more earnestly. It was in other words pointed out that the British Government and people should regard themselves henceforward as the trustees for "native" welfare. The administration should, therefore, be run not in the interests of the governing power but for developing the civilisation of the local people and for making them increasingly prosperous and happy. But if the past is an indication of the future activities, we need not be very optimistic. A recent writer tells us how the duty of trusteeship has been so far performed. If the white Government is really a trustee, sufficient efforts ought to have been made by it at least for the education of the "natives". But we are told that in Southern Rhodesia, while £30 13s. 9d. was spent per head in 1936 on the education of European children, only 13s. 9d. was spent on that of African children. And Southern Rhodesia, it should be known, is only a typical example. In fact, the figures, just referred to, illustrate very clearly the way in which trusteeship is being exercised. While in education this glaring distinction has been made, in regard to official employment the invidiousness is more striking still. No native of Africa has been admitted by any British Administration to an office which may be regarded as really superior in respect of responsibility.

In this connection we may contrast British policy with that of the French. It is true that the African territories occupied by the French are only provinces of the French Empire and do not enjoy any self-rule. But although the French Government has not done much by way of making the colonial territories politically autonomous and self-governing, it has not also encouraged any rigid social barrier between the whites and the coloured people. In fact, the colour bar has been agreeably absent to an appreciable degree in the social relations between the French settlers and the "native" population. In administrative advancement of the "natives" also the French Government has shown itself more

progressive than the British. It is significant that Mr. Eboué is to-day the Governor of a French possession. Such an appointment is still unthinkable in any one of the British territories in Africa. This principle followed in French colonial administration is certainly an oasis in the desert of the colour bar created in Asia and Africa. If it is fostered sedulously on an all-round basis in post-War years, it may result in a solution of the problem.

A still more hopeful phenomenon in regard to inter-racial relations is to be noticed in the U.S.S.R. The policy of the Socialist Government of the Soviet Union has been, during the last twenty-five years, to do away with the idea of colonialism altogether. The principle of racial distinction upon which it is based has been given no quarters in Soviet policy. Racial equality has, in fact, been the basic factor of the Soviet way of life. The whites, the blacks and the browns within the Union have enjoyed absolute equality both in respect of political and economic rights and in respect of social relations. Many American visitors were shocked when they found white and coloured children playing together in the Gorki Park in Moscow. In fact, one of the main reasons why the Anglo-Saxon world was so vehement for long in its crusade against the Soviet system was the emphasis it placed upon racial equality. While, however, this policy of racial equality once made the U.S.S.R. the *bête noire* of the imperialistic countries, it will also go down to history as one of its basic achievements.

We expect the Soviet example to influence to some extent racial relations in the British Empire and the United States, but we do not expect the influence of this example itself to be sufficient for the solution of this grave problem in the world. To this end it is essential that the leaders of the United States, both white and coloured, should make a far greater and more earnest effort to do away with the colour bar in their own country. They must bear it in mind that upon their efforts in this regard would depend not only the future of the race-relations in the U.S.A. but the future of such relations in the British Empire as well. The Britishers are by habit and tradition intensely conservative as a nation. Even when fully convinced of the necessity of reform in any matter, they cannot undertake to introduce it at once. They move slow and introduce it only by doses. It is unlikely on this account that left to themselves they will revolutionise after the War the race-relations inside the Empire. They must be shamed into this revolution by the example of the only country about which the Britishers are now developing an inferiority complex.

THE ART AND FUNCTION OF LITERARY CRITICISM

EVOLUTION OF THE CRITICAL THEORY

DEV PRAKASH NAYAR, M.A.

AS far back as we go we find the critic alongside the artist. When Odysseus says to the minstrel that he would be his "witness among all men" as to the divineness of his vision if he would "rehearse me this aright," he was setting himself up as a critic, without being called one. The function of criticism, as deduced from this, would be to understand, to judge of the truth of, and proclaim, the poet.

But as the conception of the poet as a teacher gained strength after the 5th century B.C., reaching its climax in Plato, there was greater stress on judgment. And judgment by ethical rules without reference to the work of art to be judged. A critic, says Plato, "is sitting not as the disciple of the theatre, but in his proper place as their instructor." Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes and Plato, all asserted that art must be judged solely from the point of view of conduct, since its aim was to make men better in some respects.

The confusion between art and morality is removed in Aristotle. Art is to be judged by standards of pleasure not of conduct. And these standards or rules of judgment, too, are to be deduced from the work of art itself, and not imposed from without—in fact that cannot be, since each work affords pleasure appropriate to its own kind. Again art is the illusion of life, and has to be judged, not by the laws of life, but by the laws of "internal necessity," by the correspondence of any part of it with the rest of the experience. Then Aristotle had said that art throws into a form the essentials of life. If he had followed himself up he would have said that it is the function of the critic, as well as of the artist, to judge also of the worthwhileness of the intuition, its beauty.

It was left to Longinus; however, to declare this and also to lay down certain conditions by which to form the judgment about this worthwhileness. First of all the critic must be wise and well-read in the literature of the world, and he should not shrink from taking pains to master it: "the judgment of literature is the long-delayed reward of much endeavour." Then the beautiful in art catches hold of his imagination irresistibly, lifting him out of himself. He is rapt in the truth which the

artist reveals, apprehending it, seeing it, immediately and intuitively, without the help of reason. Such an experience cannot be forgotten: It will recur.

So *Greek* criticism decides that the function of the critic is to understand and judge. For that the critic must be well-versed in the literature of the world. Judgment must be by rules of pleasure and of illusion, and these should be deduced from the work of art itself. The object of judgment is the worthwhileness, the beauty, of the intuition the author expresses. Some of the conditions which always accompany the beautiful have also been laid down.

The Hellenic light was succeeded by the darkness of the *Dark Ages*. Literature was condemned by the educated classes. But the creative impulse in the people could not be killed and found spasmodic expressions. There was no continuous progress of the literary art, which is possible only when literature is accompanied by informed and effective criticism. Hence its necessity. The only importance of the Middle Ages is to establish this necessity, though only negatively.

From the Dark Ages we emerge into the efflorescence of the *Renaissance*. The creative impulses, held in check for so long, burst forth with a lawlessness that antagonized sane minds, who, however, went to the other extreme in sheer reaction. These Elizabethan critics made the criticism of a work of art its judgment by rules derived from an alien literature, thus defying the sane conclusion of Aristotle and Longinus that judgment must be based on rules derived from the work of art itself. The absurdity of their criticism proves the folly of their defiance. Their criticism of tragedy-comedy and the Unities is a case in point. Having nothing to do with the work of art, the critic need not have the faculties of the artist. Yet, inconsistently enough, Ben Jonson comes out with the declaration that "to judge of poets is only the faculty of poets; and not of all poets but the best." Here was a sane judgment given: communication pre-supposes a man of a roughly equal imaginative power. Again Sidney is echoing Longinus when he says that the test of great poetry is that it must "move."

This "sanity," however, was not followed up. It died with the death of the creative impulse, which had spent itself in the wild outbursts of the Renaissance. The mechanical trend in Elizabethan criticism, however, was strengthened. *Boileau*, its high priest, cut art altogether away from life. So a critic like Plato, judging art by ethical standards, was irrelevant. The function of the critic was to impose rules deduced from Classical authors, and the function of the artist was to obey them.

Though the actual worth of the critic was so little, his place was high. Pope said:

"Both must alike from Heaven derive their light,
These born to judge, as well as those to write."

So the distinction between the critic and the artist, implied in much of Elizabethan criticism is recognised.

Against this pseudo-classicism was another tendency, though a subordinate one, of which *Dryden* was the chief exponent. Having the conception of literature as a dynamic force, changing with "the climate, the age, the disposition of the people," he could not see how it could be judged by something fixed, by rules derived from an alien literature for the justification or condemnation of a practice. It is not enough that Aristotle has said so. It must be judged by the effect it itself produces. Hence his justification of tragedy-comedy and use of underplots. He reinforced Aristotle and Longinus in their doctrine that criticism must be based upon the practice of a living literature: rules must be deduced from the works of art themselves. In this he anticipated the Romantic poet-critics.

For the *Romantics* held it among the "principles" of poetry that it is making, not shaping. Therefore, rules cannot be "given from without." For if they could be, as the 18th century thought, the power of poetry to make would be denied, and the power of imagination would cease to be one of growth and production. There is, however, another kind of rules, or "principles," which, arising from its very nature, enter into all literary art, and which the artist unconsciously obeys or must obey. To establish these "principles of writing," deduced from the works of art themselves, is the function of the critic. These principles, says Coleridge, may be put into a theory; but strict adherence to experience all the while is essential: Metaphysics, for example, may be brought in, but only to explain experience not to override it, as was done in the case of Coleridge or Keats. In order, however, to understand these "principles" the critic must be able to put himself as nearly as possible in the author's position: the critic, says Coleridge, must "judge in the same spirit in which the artist produced or ought to have produced" (according to the "principles" of art).

In order to be able to see like the artist the critic must have, as Jonson had said before, the latter's imagination. The 18th century with its objective and external methods of criticism did not recognise this necessity. The *Romantics*, however, have held triumphantly, both in

theory and in practice, that the poet-critics are the best. Since they speak with the authority of men who have "the evidence of all rules" within them.

Not only must the critic have only the imagination of the artist, he must also know his personality. For although the artist does not work according to external rules, yet he must obey the laws of his own being: he must be true to himself, *i.e.*, he must be sincere. Again as the creative faculties, as Addison and Burke had established, are not different in kind from the artist's other faculties, the law under which he creates is not different from that governing his other actions in life. Hence, said St. Beuve, the importance of the use of biography. St. Beuve, however, carries this method too far, requiring the critic to track the man in the writer through all the accidents of his personal character. For there are numberless elements in a character, and a critic may follow a wrong scent, and look for the clue in a trait which was accidental in the man or inoperative in his work. The absurdities of many of the Shakespearean critics, with the fad of tracing all the traits of the man in the dramatist, stand as sufficient warning. What is required is a judicious use of biography, using it only in order to elucidate what might be obscure in the artist's expression.

Again since the man is affected by the atmosphere around him, the critic, too, must have a knowledge of it, in order to understand the artist. Towards this end history is greatly helpful. The method, however, was carried too far, to its logical absurdity by Taine, who deprived the artist of any individuality and mystery, making him only a mechanical product of conditions determinable with scientific exactness. Criticism, eliminating the extremely variable factor of individuality, became objective, external to the artist, and comparatively much more exact.

In spite of their extravagance, Taine and St. Beuve served to show that there is a scientific side to the critic's function. In this they supplement Coleridge: he showed the kinship of the critic with the artist, they showed the difference.

Another equipment of the critic, as of the artist, must be his knowledge of life. Since literature was not, as Boileau thought, merely a matter of rules but the essentials of life thrown into a significant form. To judge significance of it, or the "worthwhileness" of the artist's intuition, as Longinus had said before, is also in the function of the critic. And the Romantics echoed Longinus also in the conditions they laid down as always accompanying a worthwhile intuition. Its test is that its appeal is immediate and intuitive. Again, their identification of beauty, a quality through which a work of art delights, and truth, reaching its

climax in the most systematic theory of Keats, led the Romantics to demand from the poetic vision that it must delight and convince at the same time. Longinus had pointed to a similar experience when he had said that the beautiful lifts the reader out of himself, and he apprehends immediately and intuitively the truth the artist wants to reveal. Again with Longinus they believed that the experience must recur: a great work of art excite "a continuous undercurrent of deep feelings," we bear away its music in our heart long after it is heard no more. But the critic must be trained in order to be able to apply these tests to judge the quality of the poetic vision.

So the Romantics reinforced Aristotle, Longinus, and Dryden in their doctrine that a work of art must be judged by rules from within. For that the critic must be able to put himself at the artist's position, to which end a judicious use of history and biography is helpful. During this discussion they were able to point out the kinship as well as the difference between the critic and the artist. Again the critic must know life. He must also be able to judge of the worthwhileness of the artist's intuition; and they laid down some conditions which always accompany it, and hence which would help in forming the judgment about it. ✓ 2/17

The Romantic Age is followed by the Victorian. Here three main conceptions of the critic are found (leaving aside the heap of periodical criticism and its ideals that was pouring forth at this time): that of Carlyle and Ruskin, that of Pater and Arnold, and that of Whistler and his followers. The first one was the most characteristic, since it echoed Plato's confusion between art and morality, which dominates the Age. The criterion, said Carlyle, by which a critic was to judge a work of art, was the author's power of revealing the truth, that is the invisible God in the visible universe. This was the result of their conception of art. Art, they said, is the imaginative expression of Beauty-Truth. The Romantics had said the same. But they had not dogmatically defined Beauty or Truth. They only gave the effects by which the two may be recognised: that was true which convinced immediately and intuitively, and that was beautiful which delighted—Blacke. The definitions were verifiable by experience, and were comprehensive and flexible enough not to stifle the variety of art. Since each work of art has its own peculiar beauty and reveals its own bit of truth, that which is visible from the point at which the personality of the artist stands. There was also a dangerous tendency in Keats and Coleridge, however, to define Truth and Beauty more definitely in terms of Metaphysics as, for example, when Coleridge dogmatised that the various things are the objectifications of the Infinite Mind. But generally the principle laid down by Coleridge that theory must be strictly based upon

experience, and the Catholic mind of the Romantics, which made their experience as readers and poets very varied, pressed on them the fact that the effects of art are too varied to justify any such clear-cut, absolute assertion. But the strong ethical bias of Carlyle and Ruskin led them to lay down absolute ethical rules by which to judge all sorts of works of art; that work is good which reveals the invisible God in the visible world, and that is beautiful which sets the glory of God more brightly before us. How this, ideas of conventional morality being set up as standards of judgment, had a narrowing effect on their criticism is shown, for example, by Ruskin's idea of beauty. The conclusion arrived at by the Romantics that a work of art must be judged by rules deduced from the work of art itself was thrown to the winds. Not only that they also obscured the main purpose of art by declaring that arts "must be didactic to the people, and that as their chief end. Now art, dealing as it does with life, cannot afford to neglect morality, which is one of life's main issues. But the artist's method of approach is different from the moralist's. His aim is to delight through the exhibition of truth. Life looks like that," he says. The moralist, however, says: "Life ought to be like that." The artist's purpose is to awaken perception not to influence action. It was this disinterestedness that Coleridge was speaking of when he said that the purpose of art was to cause "immediate pleasure, through the medium of beauty." Again another difficulty arises. If art is to be judged by its capacity of elevating the masses, it must be understood by them. Ruskin, therefore, declares that art is addressed to the "rank of popular minds." Even when Carlyle admits that the truth revealed in art is attainable by a small number he means by it something quite different from what we mean when we say that art has its message only for the rightly trained critic, *i.e.*, who is well-read in literature and in life. So Carlyle and Ruskin misjudged the equipment of the critic: he was to judge literature by external and absolute rules, and by its capacity to guide the masses, and he need not be versed in literature. W

Arnold and Pater stand apart because of their freedom from the theological bias. Arnold, however, is not free from the mistake of Carlyle and Ruskin, of approaching literature with preconceived standards. His critic is uninfluenced by the coarser appeals of the Philistine, who values ideas not for themselves "but for the practical conveniences which their triumph may obtain for him," for, as Ruskin says, "their subservency to life." He pursues the ends of cultural perfection, of "sweetness and light" with "disinterestedness." By declaring that a critic must be free from petty interests he has made a great advance upon the criticism of the time—it was an age of periodical criticism, governed solely by party

politics. But preconceived schemes of excellence, which do not exclude somewhat arbitrary moral values, are liable to stand in the way of the critic's being able to put himself at the artist's position which is necessary for perfect understanding and fair criticism, as they occasionally did in Arnold's own case. The critic requires rather, like Pater's Marius, an openness of mind.

Again says Pater, the critic must have the contemplative habit, which presupposes a state of mental poise and equilibrium—a state in which Carlyle so often failed. Also the critic must have a fastidious taste, ever responsive to beauty, wherever and in whatever form it appears, and tactful in discerning the "comeliness," the "blitheness," the "graciousness" that it may carry with it. He must also have a curious spirit: a desire to make the most, for the enrichment of the spirit, of all that experience can give. Wordsworth similarly had said that the artist must have thought long and deep on life; and the critic, in so far that he has to put himself at the artist's position, requires a similar equipment.

All this equipment the critic was to apply, first of all, to understand the work of art, to "see things as they really are." Here, however, Pater and Arnold part company: Pater studying the critic in relation to the artist, Arnold studying his relation to society.

After understanding the work of art, Pater would have us find out its distinctive quality. Then the critic must look for the personality revealed, for the author's "peculiar savour," his "special power," which manifests itself in thought or sentiment and in style. In his stress on knowing the personality of the artists Pater is one with St. Beuve.

Arnold, however, discusses the duty of the critic to society. After understanding what is best in an author he has to hand on his ideas to others, to convert the world, to "make the best ideas prevail." This "moral and social passion for doing good" formed an essential part of a cultured man. It was not enough for him, as St. Beuve thought, to desire the "things of the mind simply for their own sakes and for the pleasure of seeing them as they are." The cultured man aims at "getting acceptance for his ideas," in "carrying others along with him in his march towards perfection." In this missionary element in him Arnold was a true Victorian. Also the critic, by making the best ideas prevail, prepares an atmosphere favourable to the creative genius of the future, promotes "a current of ideas in the highest degree animating and nourishing to the creative power." Again, by proclaiming what is best in an author, the critic acts in a way the "trumpet" of genius, as St. Beuve was of Victor Hugo.

Another very important contribution of Arnold to our idea of the function of a critic is his advocacy of the comparative method for judging the best in literature. Longinus had said: the great literature is that about which if we ask ourselves how Homer or Demosthenes would have been affected by it the answer would be favourable. Arnold agreed when he said that the most useful method of studying poetry was "to have always in one's mind lines and expressions of the great masters, and to apply them as a touch-stone to other poetry." "The characters of a high quality of poetry are, what is expressed there." By this comparative method we can avoid the false evaluations of the "historic estimate" and the "personal estimate" and attain to a "real estimate." In order to be able to apply the comparative method we must train our taste by the study of great literature and it will automatically make us recognise and feel where greatness is. Such a taste is ultimately undefinable. But some of the qualities it will like are "truth and seriousness" in matter inseparably connected with "the superiority of diction and movement" in the style, as for example in Hamlet's last speech or Othello's or Cleopatra's. Himself Arnold illustrates it by various examples. Both by his theory and practice he shows us that this method may be fruitful in the highest degree when employed by a critic of exceptional tact. But his distinction between "personal" and "real" estimates is artificial. The chief danger, however, of his comparative method is that by too continually comparing minor literature with the greatest we are liable to disregard it—a defect, which is seen in Arnold himself when he said that "The mess of current literature is so much better disregarded." And minor poetry, though it may not have the value of the greatest, yet possesses a value, which we would be the poorer for disregarding.

Pater and Arnold, however, in many ways were sane critics of Ruskin and Carlyle's theological and didactic bias. But there was another group who flew to the extreme exactly opposite to that of the prophets, with reactionary fanaticism. They upheld the theory of 'Art for Art's sake.' There was no common ground between the critic and the artist. We believe that the common ground between the two is: Firstly, the artist starts from life, which the critic must and can know. Secondly, the critic must have an imaginative power roughly equal to that of the artist. These theorists, however, retort that the artist has nothing to do with life. Again, they say, the creative faculties of the artist are different in kind from the faculties of his fellowmen. So they make impossible those two conditions which constitute the common ground between the critic and the artist, and enable him to put himself at the artist's position, which is necessary for understanding and hence judging him. So a critic is

impossible. They, in fact, go to the extent of saying that since an artist cannot be understood he need not bother about communicating his vision, which renders the impossibility of the critic still more impossible, if that were possible.

So there are three main tendencies in Victorian criticism: the main one tending to reverse the same conclusion of their predecessors that art must be judged by rules from within, and that it must be judged chiefly by its capacity to delight, and not by its capacity to instruct. The subordinate group, of Arnold and Pater, however, had interesting lights to throw on the make-up of the critic's mind, and how he is to use his equipment in order to realise his aims. The last tendency, on the other hand, was to regard the existence of a critic as impossible.

This last tendency is continued in the *Expressionists*, who represent one of the main tendencies in *modern criticism*. Croce, whose principles they profess to follow, says that the artist as artist is not concerned with communication at all. His function is to organise the scattered "impressions"—wherefrom they are derived is not clear—in his mind. If, however, he condescends to externalize his vision—that is, when he ceases to be an artist in Croce's sense, and becomes one as we understand the term—he must be judged by current political, theological and other values. So a critic if he can exist under Croce must be merely the whip of the politician or the moralist. This is, however, carrying matters to an extreme.

There are, however, critics who discuss the question of art and criticism with much greater sanity. The most important of these are T. S. Eliot and I. A. Richards. The problem of art and morality continues to tax. It was realised very early that art has to do with life. The sense of connection between the two had been growing stronger ever since Homer. And morality, forming an important part of life cannot be neglected by art. This was also realized quite early. In fact there were continual attempts to identify the two completely. This tendency was strongest in the Victorian Age, which identified art completely with Puritanic morality. But Eliot sees that if we are to consider only that poetry as good which satisfies standards of morality, or rather those of our conception of morality, then we can appreciate very little poetry. Moreover, criticism then becomes merely a record of personal opinions. But "the end of the enjoyment of poetry," as he says in the 'Sacred Wood,' "is a pure contemplation from which all the accidents of personal emotion are removed." Therefore, he comes to the conclusion that "Poetry is a superior amusement." Poetry is connected with our beliefs in other spheres of life, yet the creative faculty is distinct from the senses expres-

sing them. So a poem is good, not if its philosophy is good—*i.e.*, conforming to our sense of right philosophy—, but if it expresses in perfect language some permanent human impulse. Yet he feels that our enjoyment of a poem is enhanced if we believe in its philosophy. Again, if literature expresses philosophy it must be judged by standards of philosophy, which can at the most be standards in which we believe. He recognises this when he writes in "Poetry and Propaganda": "We should aim at coming to rest in poetry we believe in, but we should pass in and out among various poetic worlds," *i.e.*, we are to regard that poetry as better, though we are not to neglect the other, which expresses what we believe in. And no wonder. For we cannot be merely content with deriving delight from it as Aristotle, Longinus and Dryden would have us believe. "We aim in the end . . . to terminate our enjoyment of the arts in a philosophy and our philosophy in a religion." Hence D. H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, David Garnett and Aldous Huxley are not of the highest, since they lack moral significance (according to Eliot). Therefore, he arrives at a conclusion opposite to that which he had arrived at before: "Literary criticism should be completed by criticism from a definite theological and ethical standpoint." So Eliot's position is marked by a perplexity: Literature ought to be judged by moral standards and literature ought not to be judged by moral standards.

I. A. Richards tries to resolve this perplexity. Art deals with morality. It must, therefore, be judged by standards of morality, but morality interpreted not in terms of eternity, but in terms of psychology. Previous critics had tried to find some absolute standard of good, but finding that it did not exist, that beliefs vary so much, they were confused. Richards says that man is full of impulses, and that is good or beautiful which satisfies the greatest number of impulses. This enables a judgment of all sorts of beliefs on equal terms. For example, if we try to judge Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality" by Stevenson's "The Child's Play," the former will appear altogether absurd: being different in kind from the latter it cannot be judged by it. But both must excite some impulses, and from their number the two beliefs can be compared. But there are difficulties about Richard's method. Firstly, his standard is not applicable in practice: it is impossible to count the number of impulses a work of art excites. Richards himself has not done it. His method is only a psychological eye-wash. Again, his standard is relative. Impulses excited by the same poem in different persons is different (even their number). So has the poem as many values as there are persons? True, as he says, the more complex an experience grows the more uniformity there is among the reactions to it of various persons. But this gives us

no means of arriving at an impersonal judgment, which is the end of true criticism, on poems representing a simple experience. Moreover, judging aesthetic experience like Bentham judging happiness, Richards neglects the quality of impulses. So he has not succeeded completely in providing an impersonal standard of judgment, which is the need of criticism.

The other contribution of Richards is his clarification of the age-long confusion between technical remarks and critical remarks. Dr. Johnson had argued that Pope was a good poet, and because Milton did not conform to his technique he was not a good poet. Technical devices, says Richards, are only means to the end, which is to express experience. So a critic is not concerned with whether an author adheres to a particular technique or not; his main concern is whether the artist has conveyed, successfully and spontaneously, a valuable experience. A full statement about a poem, however, will include a discussion of the technical devices by which an author expresses himself, as well as the assessment of the value of experience.

T. S. Eliot also has another contribution to make. The artist and so the critic must know life. He must be conscious of the present in its fulness. He must also be conscious of the past, especially the sustenance the past has left to the present: he must have "a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but also of its presence." This, however, "cannot be inherited, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labour."

Thus there has been no uniform growth of the conception of the art and function of criticism. It has been a variable of the conception of art itself. The 18th Century regarded art as a mere matter of ornamentation by rules. So a critic was just to equip himself with the knowledge of "Rules, of old discovered." With the establishment of the firm connection between life and literature with a vengeance in the Romantic Age, for example, the critic was required, like the artist, to "have thought long and deep on life." So criticism on the function of criticism has not always been consistent or steadily developing along certain lines. Yet amidst the heap of confusions and contradictions one does find some points on which most critics agree—thus helping us to formulate something like a theory of the art and function of criticism.

The two main functions of the critic are to understand and to judge. As he can approach the artist only through the thing expressed, perfect knowledge of the medium is essential. Again the critic has to put himself as nearly as possible at the author's position in order to understand him. Now the artist writes about the life of a particular period, both

with its permanent and accidental elements. In order to be able to put himself at the artist's position the critic must know the life of the period represented. To this end a judicious use of history, as Croce points out, is essential. If, however, he is criticising a modern book he must think away the irrelevancies with which ephemeral criticism or gossip may have encumbered it. His aim should be to establish contact with the author as he really is or was. Again the artist does not represent fact, but his own sense of fact, his own personal view of life. Therefore, for perfect identification with the artist, as St. Beuve pointed out, knowledge of the artist's personality is essential. Towards this end a wise use of biography is greatly helpful. But unless the critic has the imagination of the artist he cannot see as the artist saw; "To judge of poets is only the faculty of poets."

This brings us to the second function of a critic which is to judge. The artist constructs a form out of the impressions of life. The critic has to reverse this process, and reconstruct life from the artist's vision and see if it is true to life as we know it. Here comes the necessity of knowing life of which T. S. Eliot speaks in "The Sacred Wood." He has to reverse this process also. Knowing the bit of life from which the artist started and also his personality, the critic sees if the artist should have reconstructed life as he has done. This will mean judgment on his sincerity—i.e., that is seeing if he has been true to himself. Not only should the artist's vision be true to life and to himself, it must also be "worthwhile." Before an artist presents his conception of life, his criticism, he pauses to see that it is "worthwhile," it merits attention. Similarly the critic must assess the "worthwhileness" of the artist's intuition. Here comes the question of judging beliefs in poetry. This question of judging the "worthwhileness" is the most perplexing one. Critics baffled by it are not lacking even to-day, and T. S. Eliot and I. A. Richards are cases in point. The question as to how to judge it has been solved by different critics in different ways. Longinus, Jonson, Coleridge, Arnold, and Pater and others—each lay down their own conditions by which the excellent in literature may be recognised. Ultimately we have to depend upon the aesthetic experience of a taste developed by acquaintance with life, in Eliot and Pater's sense, by mastery of literature and the language of the arts. Such a trained critic can recognise the beautiful, though without full comprehension of the process.

In the task of understanding and judging the critic has most of the qualities of the artist. Yet he is distinct from him in three respects. Firstly the critic does not begin just where the artist began: the artist

started with life, the critic, however, starts with the work of art. Secondly, the creative artist is the freer. He can choose his own tract of life, and reconstruct his vision out of it as his personality and imagination dictate. The critic reconstructs life from the work of art itself. Starting with that bit of life which the author professes to represent the critic has to reconstruct a vision from the artist's point of view, and compare it with that of the artist. But he must come back to the work of art itself. The poem, play or novel confront him as a matter of fact. Again scientific judgment must step in. The artist in the critic is displaced by the scientist, equipped with a bristling array of arguments to prove his judgment. The scientific side to the critic is also needed in his finding out the personality of the artist and the times in which he wrote, from biography and history. Creation and criticism, therefore, are two distinct functions though they have much in common. This, however, does not deny the possibility of their being found in combination in a single person. In fact some of the most remarkable critics have been poets—for example, Dante, Jonson, Dryden, Coleridge, Arnold and Eliot.

So criticism is the understanding and judging of a work of art by a scientist-artist.

TAXATION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME

SACHIN SEN, M.A., B.L.

LAND is bisected into two categories, agricultural land and non-agricultural land. Agricultural land is related in a direct way to the nation's wealth and welfare ; non-agricultural land provides better opportunities for speculative investment, and the owners thereof gain in a more exciting way from the growth of population and the general cumulation of an industrial society. The unearned income from non-agricultural land is greater, and "the owner reaps where the community sows." If land is placed in private hands and if it is tilled by the one who is not its owner, the landlord enjoys rent. Rent is passive when it is the remuneration given to the landlord for the use of the original and inherent power of land ; rent is active when it is paid for the services rendered by the landlord. Full rent is the compound of both passive and active rent. The taxation of land is a tax on rent which falls wholly on landlords, and it cannot be shifted on to any class of consumers.

In laying down the tests of taxability two fundamental assumptions are to be accepted : (1) the institution of private property is to be maintained ; (2) the State will not disturb property rights in the absence of special justifications. It means that we are to treat taxation in the capitalist State. The following tests should be examined :—

(a) The test of *sectional utility*. It means that all income receivers and property holders should be similarly treated.

(b) The test of *relative sacrifice*. A system of taxes should be so devised that it inflicts the minimum amount of hardship. The corollary is to be accepted that the unearned income should be confiscated without stabbing at the vitals of private property.

(c) The test of *benefit*. There is a large measure of justice in any scheme of taxation if the proceeds from the tax return to the benefit of the property taxed.

(d) The test of *social utility*. The State has right to tax property for the pursuit of its social ideals and justice ; the State can also tax any income which offends against social ideals.

(e) The test of *current ability*. "It is always desirable that taxation should be so regulated for the taxpayer that it can be met out of the revenue as it comes in : the tax-gatherer should take his pitcher to the

running river, and not to the dry water-course. " ¹ It is not fair that the tax should be paid out of capital, and in lean years it often happens that the amount of tax is greater than income. This, however, cannot happen in the case of income-tax.

In India non-agricultural incomes are to be taxed by the Federal centre and agricultural incomes by the Provinces. Under the Constitution Act of 1935 the Provincial legislature has no competence in defining " agricultural income " ; it has to accept the same meaning of " agricultural income " as given in the Indian Income Tax Act [*vide* Section 311 (2) of the Government of India Act 1935]. The ingredients of agricultural income under the Indian Income-tax Act are the following :—

(a) Agricultural income must be derived from land or building.

(b) The land must be used for agricultural purpose, and assessed to land revenue in British India or subject to a local rate assessed and collected by officers of the Crown. ²

(c) The income must be any rent or revenue derived from land or any income derived by agriculture from land, or any income derived by the performance ³ of any process ordinarily employed by a cultivator to render the produce fit to be taken to market, or any income derived by the sale of the produce. ⁴

(d) For purposes of agricultural income from the building, it must be owned and occupied by the receiver of the rent or revenue of the above description of land, or occupied by the cultivator or the receiver of rent-in-kind of any land with respect to which or the produce of which the operations of cultivation or sale are carried on, and the building must be on or in the immediate vicinity of the land and it must be required as a dwelling house, store-house or other out-building by the receiver of rent or revenue or the cultivator by reason of his connection with land. ⁵

It is to be noted that the expressions " agriculture " and " income " are not defined in the Indian Income Tax Act. They are to be interpreted in the light of judicial observations. Income under the Act connotes a

¹ Prof. J. M. Garland, *Economic Aspects of Australian Land Taxation*, pp. 88-89.

² The assessment and collection of cess is ordinarily made by the Collector who is an officer of the Crown, although the cess goes to the District Board Fund. Cess is not payable in respect of any estate within the limits of a municipality. Revenue-free agricultural land in a municipality is subject to a local rate collected by the servants of the municipality and not by the officers of the Crown, and as such the income derived from such land is not agricultural (*Jhalak Prasad Singh vs. Province of Bihar*, 1941, 4 F. L. J. H. C., 178).

³ The performance must be by a cultivator who raised the produce or by the receiver of rent-in-kind who received it.

⁴ Sale must be by a cultivator or receiver of rent-in-kind who raised or received the produce.

⁵ The question of what constitutes " immediate vicinity " is one of the facts. The expression " requires " means " needs, " and the words " by reason of his connection with the land " mean " for the purpose of agriculture including the purpose of collecting rent or revenue. "

periodical monetary return "coming in" with some sort of regularity or expected regularity from definite sources. Income for the purpose of assessment under the Indian Income-Tax Act includes national income but exempts capital gains and casual profits. The Act taxes only net income.

Under the Income Tax Act of 1860, income was classified into four schedules, *viz.*, income from landed property, income from professions and trades, income from securities, income from salaries and pensions. Agricultural income in the case of cultivators was assumed to be one-third of the rent-value of their land. The exemption limit for the general public was fixed at Rs. 200 per annum. It was an emergency measure, and the operation of the Act was limited to a term of 5 years. The inclusion of agricultural income was one of the chief contributory causes to the failure of the Income Tax Act of 1860. "Land had already a heavy share of taxation, while trading and commercial incomes escaped scot-free. To tax landed incomes, while taxing commercial incomes by income-tax, was taxing them again, and in the absence of graduation in the income-tax, clearly constituted double taxation. This created great discontent and, if the report for the year 1870-71 on the administration of income-tax in Lower Provinces is to be believed, inflicted a great deal of hardship on a large number of poor cultivators. This factor undoubtedly contributed to the failure of the tax."¹

By 1878 license-taxes were levied in all the provinces of India with the exception of Assam and British Burma. These license-taxes were essentially limited income-taxes on non agricultural income, whereas cesses were levied on agricultural income. The license-taxes were levied on earnings from trade; they did not apply to incomes from Government service, professions and securities. The Income Tax Act of 1886 was not an introduction of new direct taxation of incomes; it was "an enlargement, an extension and equalisation, of direct taxation extending to professions and service." The Finance Member, Sir Auckland Colvin, pointed out that the Act of 1886 was built upon the foundations laid nine years ago in the license-taxes of 1878. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, referring to the Indian Income Tax Bill of 1886, emphasised, "In fact, our project is merely an expansion of the license-tax. The license-tax is a one-storeyed house, and on the top of it we are putting up a second storey, but the order of architecture in both will be the same; and as the foundation of the one has stood the test of time and of popular criticism, so I trust will the walls of the other possess the same solid characteristics." The Income Tax Act of 1886 exempted

¹ Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, *Taxation of Income in India*, p. 11.

agricultural income as it had borne its share of taxation through cesses.¹ The Income Tax Act of 1886 repealed the Northern India License Act, 1878, the Indian License Acts Amendment Act, 1880, and the Acts of the provincial Legislative Councils relating to the license-tax. In 1918 the Government of India attempted, without success, to amend the Indian Income Tax Act by providing that in determining the rate at which the income-tax was to be levied, the aggregate of an assessee's taxable income from all sources, including agricultural income, should be taken into consideration. The Finance Member, Sir William Meyer, defended the amendment on the ground that it was not fair for the wealthy landlord to pay the tax at rates "intended only for the poor." This was opposed by important non-officials (including Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and officials including the Commander-in-Chief) of the Indian legislature.

Since the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1935 agricultural income had been the concern of the provincial Government. The province is competent to tax (a) agricultural income arising therein to both residents and non-residents, (b) agricultural income arising in any part of British India and remitted to the province concerned, and (c) agricultural income accruing to residents in the province concerned from lands in any part of British India whether remitted to the province concerned or not. The interpretation of 'accrual' is not free from difficulty. The Calcutta High Court held in Mohanpura Tea Company's case (1937, I.T.R. 118) that income was deemed to have arisen where sale took place notwithstanding that tea was manufactured elsewhere. The Madras High Court in Mathias *vs.* Commissioner of Income-tax, Madras (1937, I.T.R. 435), gave a different interpretation. If the contention of the Calcutta High Court that "the profit is not realised before price and when the article is sold, the whole profit is realised for the first time and it accrues where it is thus realised" is held good, the Government of Bengal could tax, for instance, practically the entire income of the tea gardens of Assam, as Assam tea is generally brought for sale in Calcutta. The Provincial Agricultural Income Tax Acts (*viz.*, the Bihar Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1938, and the Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1939) have taxed agricultural income derived from lands situated in the provinces concerned. The basis of taxation is agricultural income received and not agricultural income accrued, although both residents and non-residents are chargeable to tax. The Bengal Agricul-

¹ "This was done because the income-tax was really an expansion of the license-taxes. When the license-taxes were levied in 1877-78 on the trading and professional classes, cesses were simultaneously levied on the landed classes."—Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, *A History of Indian Taxation*, p. 117, footnote.

tural Income Tax Bill, 1943, has accepted the same basis. The position is this:

(a) Agricultural income derived from lands situated in the province concerned is taxed ;

(b) Agricultural income received from sources outside the province concerned is excluded from taxation ;

(c) Agricultural income derived from lands situated in the province concerned is taxed even if it is received outside the province.

Thus "the origin basis" has obviated the difficulties of "the accrual basis."

It is to be noted that whether a particular income is agricultural or not is essentially a question of fact. Judicial decisions have established that the following incomes, apparently agricultural, are non-agricultural : (a) interest on arrear rents ; (b) income of a person who takes contracts in forests for the cutting down and selling of timber ; (c) royalty received for granting permission to manufacture bricks or to take out *kankar* ; (d) interest on cash loan repayable in paddy, (e) incomes from markets or moorings or ferries, fisheries, coal mines, etc., private canals ; (f) *salami* paid for recognition of transfer ; (g) the maintenance allowance paid by a Hindu out of his estate to his younger brother ; (h) the monthly maintenance allowance under a decree of court ; (i) the rent derived from supplying water for irrigation purposes ; (j) the realisation of the surplus by the assessee on the sale of lands mortgaged to him ; (k) a legacy allowance paid out of zemindar's income ; (l) the interest due on a promissory note entered into for arrears of revenue due for agricultural land ; (m) interest received by a simple mortgagee of agricultural land. The difficulties exist because 'agriculture' is not defined in the Indian Income Tax Act.

It is also to be noted that the Government have fixed 40 p.c. of the income of Tea Companies as non-agricultural and 60 p.c. thereof as agricultural, as the Calcutta High Court in *Killing Valley Tea Company Ltd. vs. Secretary of State* (1921, I, I.T.C. 54) decided that when tea is grown and manufactured in British India, a portion of the profits and gains derived from its sale in British India must be regarded as agricultural. The proportion was settled by an arbitrary rule, and Tea Companies are fortunate in securing the said exemption as a Sugar Company which grows sugarcane crop on its own land and manufactures sugar in a factory cannot claim any portion of its income as agricultural (in *Bhikanpur Sugar Concern, Bihar*, 1919, I, I.T.C. 29).

There is a facile impression that agricultural land is lightly taxed. It is not so in respect of small incomes. Tax in legal parlance means

the amount of money which individuals are compelled to pay for public purposes. Land revenue or rent and cesses in respect of agricultural incomes are also deductions from a person's income under cover of compulsory payment for public purposes like income-tax under the Indian Income Tax Act in regard to non-agricultural incomes. Moreover, land revenue or rent and cesses are to be paid irrespective of realisations and on every rupee of the income, whereas the Income Tax Act taxes the net income and exempts small incomes. The bigger non-agricultural incomes, however, receive lenient treatment from the non-imposition of income-tax thereon. If a landlord has on paper an income of Rs. 8,000, he is to pay Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000, provided land revenue or rent and cesses taken together range between 25 to 50 p.c. on the rentals; but a person having an assessable non-agricultural income of Rs. 8,000 is to pay Rs. 398-7-0 (at the average rate of 9.56 pies in the rupee under the Indian Income Tax Act). This disparity will narrow down as incomes will increase, and in the case of income above Rs. 1,00,000 non-agricultural income is put at a disadvantage. It is not, therefore, true that agricultural land has escaped taxation. The case for lenient treatment of agricultural land arises from the fact that its heavy taxation is detrimental to agricultural progress, but the imposition of income-tax on agricultural land on a graduated scale, in addition to the land revenue or rent and cesses, is favoured on the specific ground that such tax falls on the person, not on the estate, who has ability to bear the burden. But such direct taxation gathers its logic (1) if the community taxed has visible interest in the proceeds from the tax, or (2) if the community taxed has direct interest in the affairs of the taxing authority.

In considering the levy of a tax on agricultural income the following points deserve consideration:—

(1) The State should tax the person who is under its economic obligation and grant relief, if necessary, to its own nationals and residents. Economic allegiance, to quote the Report on Double Taxation, League of Nations, is to be found not only in the place where the income originates but also where its recipient resides. It is the doubly taxed citizen and not the doubly taxed income that calls for relief.

(2) The tax on agricultural income being a provincial matter, it is to be noted that there are *tauzis* the lands of which lie in two provinces but the revenue of which is paid to one province only. The difficulties of proportionate deduction are to be faced.

(3) The Hindu undivided family, which is an institution peculiar to the Hindu community, is an association of many individuals related to one another by ties of blood, living together and owning property jointly.

It is a separate legal unit. Hindu undivided families are treated just like individuals and taxed at graduated personal rates. There is no provision for refunds "if the individual's personal rate is less than the joint family rate; nor is there any provision for the individual to pay the excess to the State if his personal rate is higher than the family's rate." There are families joint in estate but not in living. Their personal rate of tax would have been lower, but as the beneficiary of the joint family property he is to pay a higher rate—the rate at which the joint family with the joint income is taxed. The result is that "poorer persons pay at a higher rate on their joint family income, while richer persons pay at a lower rate not only on their joint family income but on their other income as well." The injustice of treating the Hindu undivided family as a single person tends to disruption of the joint family system; the taxation policy thus interferes with the family system of Hindus.¹

(4) It is to be noted that the principle of ability to pay is not the guiding factor in determining land revenue or rent. It is paid at a uniform rate by persons with smaller incomes as well as bigger incomes. It "taxes persons whom the income-tax would exempt, and it takes less from persons from whom the income-tax would take more." In the canon of taxation the logical corollary is the abolition of the land revenue and the substitution of income-tax on agricultural income. The position as it is, the Indian provinces cannot forego land revenue in favour of income-tax on agricultural income, as that will entail a great reduction in the provincial revenue.

After the introduction of the Constitution Act of 1935 the provinces of Bihar and Assam have taxed agricultural incomes from lands situated in the provinces concerned. The limits of taxable income are Rs. 5,000 in Bihar and Rs. 3,000 in Assam. The Assam Act was passed primarily to affect the tea-assessees. Of the 600 assessees in Assam, nearly 500 are proprietors of tea gardens who are responsible for more than 90 p.c. of the collection on account of agricultural income-tax. Even among the landlords, the proprietors of eight large estates pay practically the remaining amount. Landlords with small taxable incomes are very few in number. The number of assessees is nearly 600 in Assam whereas the number thereof is roughly 1,200 in Bihar. The bulk of the tax in Bihar is paid by assessees with an individual income between Rs. 5,001 and Rs. 20,000. In Bihar there is only one person with an income between

¹ To the report of the Select Committee on the Income Tax Bill of 1918 Mr. B. N. Sarmia added a minute of dissent, wherein he contended that "the tax payable by an undivided family should be payable by several members of the family entitled to a share of such income as if the family became divided on the date on which the income became taxable."

10,00,001 and Rs. 15,00,000 and one person with an income above Rs. 15,00,000. The incidence of taxation under the Agricultural Income Tax Act is different in Assam and Bihar. In Assam the Act is aimed at taxing the tea-assessees, in Bihar it is meant to affect a limited number of the upper middle classes. The working of the Bihar Act shows that the tendency among landholders to partition their estates into smaller units, to escape taxation by reducing their individual income below the minimum taxable limit, is eloquent, and it will lead to the pulverisation of properties. The number of assessees will increase, but the total amount on account of agricultural income-tax will show a decline.

The Government of Bengal have brought forward a Bill to tax agricultural income from lands situated in Bengal. The Bengal Agricultural Income Tax Bill, 1943, provides that no agricultural income-tax shall be payable on a total agricultural income which does not exceed Rs. 2,000. This special measure is to be judged in the light of the following facts:—

(1) The Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, has openly declared that the Bill is brought forward under pressure from the Central Government and to make up the deficit occasioned largely by the abnormal expenditure owing to war conditions. This is unfortunate, the more so when we find that the taxation of agricultural income is exclusively a provincial matter and the expenditure brought about by war conditions is primarily an All-India and an Imperial matter. It is striking that a particular province is taxing its citizens at the whip of the Centre, and it involves an erosion of the principle of provincial autonomy to a damaging extent. The fact that the proceeds from the tax will not return to the improvement of agriculture which, in the ultimate analysis, supplies the fund to be taxed, takes away the grace of the taxation measure.

(2) The Bill is brought forward at a time when famine is stalking the province. The scarcity of essential commodities together with maldistribution has brought about an economic crisis of the worst magnitude. People are dying peacefully in hovels and streets. Private charities are doing much more than Governmental efforts in feeding and clothing the needy. A taxation measure at this stage, unless Government take the full responsibility of the situation upon themselves, is unsound and unimaginative. The high cost of living, the increasing collection expenses of the landholding community in respect of rents and cesses, lean realisations—all this is not to be ignored.

(3) Agricultural land is bearing its due share of taxation in the form of land revenue or rent and cesses. Land revenue in Bengal on an

average is 21 p.c. of the rental, and as such it is not nominal. The Burdwan Raj Estate pays nearly 66 p.c. of the rental by way of land revenue. The Road Cess Act of 1871 and the Public Works Cess Act of 1877 were consolidated into the Cess Act of 1880, and the public works and road cesses are paid by the landlords, who are entitled to recover from the subordinate interests at half the rate for every rupee of revenue paid by him. The ryot pays, to the person to whom his rent is payable, one-half of the public works and road cesses. The Cess Amendment Act of 1934 substitutes the acreage basis, determined on the value of agricultural produce, for the rental basis. The rate of cess for one year shall not exceed the rate of one-quarter anna on each rupee of such annual value. Annual value of land means the sum of money calculated by multiplying the area of the land by the acreage rate applicable to such land. The acreage rate shall not exceed one-sixth of the value of the gross produce per acre of ordinary agricultural land. Under the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930, all immovable property on which the Cess Act of 1880 is applicable is liable to payment of Primary Education Cess. Primary Education Cess is levied at the rate of five pice on each rupee of the annual value of land. It is true that every cultivating ryot shall pay seven-tenths of the education cess (that is, three and a half pice out of five pice) calculated at the rate upon the rent payable by him but the landlord is responsible for the entire amount of the education cess, as the education cess shall be paid to the same persons in the same manner and at the same time as the public works and road cesses are paid. The Bengal Rural (Primary) Education Act, 1930, is in operation in many of the districts of Bengal. The landlord of Bengal thus pays land revenue or rent and the public works and road cesses and the Rural Primary Education Cess. All such payments are to be made irrespective of realisations, and the landlord is to bear the burden of the ryot's share of cesses in the event of non-realisations. The methods of realisation through civil courts are dilatory and ineffective. The incomes of the landlords of Bengal are inelastic as all provisions of enhancement of rent in the Bengal Tenancy Act are suspended. On an average land revenue or rent and all kinds of cesses in Bengal may not take away more than one-third of the rental intercepted by landlords, but in practice it swallows much more, even more than fifty per cent in many cases, as landlords are to make their payments irrespective of realisations and to bear the burden of the ryot's share of cesses in the event of non-realisations. In Assam and Bihar there is no primary education cess. An additional tax in the form of income-tax on agricultural income in Bengal will impair the principle of equal sacrifice by similar and similarly situated

persons and hamper agricultural improvement by private persons. The tax on agricultural income will have another strange facet: it will affect a particular community and augment provincial revenue, whereas the Government will have no obligation for the improvement of agricultural land. It is a manifest exercise of right without the performance of responsibilities.

(4) In Bengal there has been innumerable growth of tenure-holders through historical factors and social necessities. Landlords with large incomes are very few in number. The Census Report, 1931, states that there are 678 thousand landlords in Bengal, and the raiyati rental of Rs. 11 crores is divided among them. An analysis of the franchise qualification in the landholders' constituencies for the Bengal Legislative Assembly yields that landlords having an income of more than 10 thousand rupees per annum are not more than one thousand. Accordingly, the Bengal Agricultural Income Tax Bill being enacted, the number of assesseees will be large but the returns from the tax will be negligible. In Bihar and Assam there is no such growth of intermediate landholders. The Bengal Act, unlike the Assam and the Bihar Acts, will prejudice the lower middle classes by taking away their incomes for general administrative purposes and by helping the dismemberment of their properties.

In this context it may be noted that the imposition of a tax on agricultural income in addition to cesses varies the old promise and assurance and that the framers of the Income Tax Act of 1886 exempted agricultural income on the ground of its paying land revenue and cesses. It does not affect, vary or repeal any provision in the Permanent Settlement Regulations as the Privy Council in *Probhat Chandra Barua vs. King Emperor* (1930, I.L.R. 58 Cal. 430) held that the Bengal Regulations of 1793 merely contained assurances against any claim to an increase of "Jama" which was identified with land revenue. It may be contended that the entire tenure-holding community which constitutes the middle classes of Bengal makes no payment to the public exchequer: they pay rents to the revenue-paying zemindars; they pay cesses which go to the local bodies. The State does not gain financially from the tenure-holding community in a direct manner. To an economist this emphasises the case of substitution of income-tax on agricultural income for land revenue and cesses. The case for additional direct taxation in the form of income-tax is weak in Bengal, the more so when it is not imposed for ameliorative purposes.

THE ROLE OF INJURIOUS PLANTS

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PLANTS, which act as public enemies, may be divided into three classes. These are—

- (1) plants as weeds—which are pests of cultivated fields,
- (2) poisonous plants containing prussic acid or hydrocyanic acid (HCN) in their roots, tubers, stems, leaves or seeds, and
- (3) fungi causing devastation of (a) crops and (b) of forests and plantations.

Weeds are plants in the unwanted places. The widespread damage caused by Water-hyacinth (*Eichornia crassipes*) is well-known. It has seriously affected the navigation of boats in Bengal and Orissa. It spreads rapidly both by vegetative and sexual methods (by seeds). Prof. P. K. Parija of Cuttack has observed that it sets seeds in the cold weather, although it may flower throughout the spring and summer, and that the seeds retain their viability for at least seven years. No successful method of control of this weed could be yet devised, though many were attempted. Rumour has it that one Mr. Morgan of Narayanganj (Dacca) first introduced water-hyacinth from Brazil for beauty of its flowers in the adjoining *jhills* of his bungalow; so, it is popularly known as “Morgan’s Vice.”

Another weed, *Lantana camara* (N.O. Verbenaceae), is gradually encroaching on our pasture lands. It has already become a pest in Ceylon. Hillebrand, the distinguished Botanist of the Hawaiian islands, introduced in 1860 *Lantana camara* for ornamental flowers in the islands. Mr. S. P. Lancaster has got in his Alipore Agri-horticultural garden four varieties of it, with white, orange-yellow, red and pink flowers. The first attempt to control this weed by its insect-enemies was made by Keeble of the United States Department of Agriculture. The method is known as biological control of weeds. Keeble visited Mexico in 1898 and bred some insects from the seeds of *Lantana*. He made another journey in 1902 with the object of securing promising enemies for the purpose of introduction in the Hawaiian islands. Twenty-three species of insects were sent to Perkins at Honolulu, of which eight became well established. The most effective was the Tortricid moth, *Crocidosema lantana* Busck, whose

larva bore into the flowering stems and fed on the flowers and fruits. In Madras, *Lantana* has been recently controlled by sodium chlorate spray by A. L. Griffith (Forest Bull., 1941).

Prickly pear ('Phani-manasa' or 'Nag-phana'—*Opuntia dillenii*) is another pest which affected an area of about 60 million acres in Queensland and New South Wales in Australia in 1925. In the regions referred to, the plant-pest was estimated spreading at the rate of one million acres per year. After elaborate tests a large number of natural enemies were introduced; of these the moth *Cactoblastis cactorum* is the most important. The rate of increase of prickly pear has been arrested, and today less than ten per cent of the former infested area remains. In Madras, the prickly pear has been effectively controlled by the *Cochineal Dactylopius tomentosus*. The experiment began in 1927 and by 1941 it was expected that 114 thousand square miles of prickly pear would be cleared.

In the biological control of weeds by introduction of insect-enemies of plant-pests, care should be taken that when an insect is introduced to check any plant-pest, no natural enemy of the insect is accidentally introduced along with it. Great precaution suggested by careful study and experiment should be taken so that the insect to be introduced does not attack any plant of economic importance in its new home and that the insect attacks only the genus to which the plant-pests belong, or allied species of absolutely no economic importance. Thus, an exhaustive test is necessary before an insect is introduced to control a noxious weed. Mr. E. S. Narayanan of New Delhi contributed an interesting note on biological control of weeds in the Proceedings of the 29th Indian Science Congress held at Baroda in 1942. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to him for the above facts.

Croton sparsiflorus, a native of Paraguay, is a familiar weed in waste lands. It was first noticed in Diamond Harbour but now it has spread to various parts of India. People who have run into forests and waste places have bitter experience of the irritation caused by stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*) called in vernacular 'Bichuti.' Cultivators and gardeners are often troubled with very obnoxious plants—like the Nutgrass (*Cyperus rotundus*) and Dubgrass (*Cynodon dactylon*)—which are very difficult to eradicate on account of the persistent rhizomes buried deep underground. There is often unconscious distribution of weeds by travelling public along with their baggages.

Recently, the author noticed a big tank by the side of a railway track at Simultollah (Bihar) completely filled up with luxurious growth of lotus plants (*Nelumbium speciosum*). It has become a problem how

to recover the once beautiful tank. We often come across *Argemone mexicana* ('Shial Kanta'), *Blumea*, *Ageratum*, *Eupatorium*, *Saccharum spontaneum*, *Chenopodium*, etc., as common enemies of cultivated and fallow lands. Such weeds are usually controlled by ploughing up the weed seedlings soon after their appearance. Regarding *Calotropis* ('Akanda') and *Saccharum spontaneum* ('Kans' or 'Kash') it has been found that when their roots are thoroughly soaked in gas tar, they are prevented from sprouting. Chemical methods of weed-control are sometimes not practicable, especially in case of aquatic weeds, because poisonous chemicals will affect the aquatic fauna like fish and the drinking cattle and men. Some of the crop plants are parasitized by weeds like *Striga* and *Orobanche* which are regarded as root-parasites. Ten years ago, *Striga*-menace was very great as it seriously affected the sugarcane seedlings in the Nursery plots at Coimbatore (Madras). In the Punjab it has become a problem to grow Jowar in fields where *Striga* makes its appearance. Control of *Striga* should be undertaken at the very beginning. Seeds of *Striga* are said to be viable for over 20 years. According to some, the weeds cause more loss to agriculture than the fungal and insect pests taken together. Many weeds are abodes for dangerous pests and diseases and in some cases prove poisonous or injurious to men and animals when mixed and consumed with crop plants. As an example, the case of the seeds of the weed 'Akta' (*Vicia sativa*) mixed with seeds of Khesari Dal (*Lathyrus sativa*) in the fields may be cited. Late Major Acton (the then Director of the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta) held that the disease lathyrism was due to consumption of Khesari Dal (*Lathyrus sativa*) by poor people; on the other hand Howard, Simonsen and Anderson (10th Indian Science Congress Proceedings, 1924) were unable to find any alkaloid in 'Khesari Dal.' They found poison in the seed of the weed 'Akta'; from their animal experiments with ducks it turned out that all the ducks taking 'Khesari Dal' in any form, which has been freed from 'Akta,' lived eight weeks and the majority of them increased in weight, while all of the ducks given 'Khesari' grain contaminated with 'Akta' died within 25 days.

Recently (Proceedings of the 29th Indian Science Congress, 1942), Dr. H. Chaudhuri, Prof. of Botany, Panjab University, has remarked that certain seeds like 'Kangi' (*Euphorbia dracunculides*) growing in barley fields have been responsible for great losses. The seeds of the weed become mixed with barley at the time of threshing. A large consignment of barley purchased by the military department had to be rejected because the horses refused to feed on them. A kind of itching sensation was produced on the throat of the animals. After examination of a sample

from that consignment, Dr. Chaudhuri found that the barley was mixed up with seeds of 'Kangi' which produced the itching sensation; it was not due to any poisonous principle present in the seeds but to the seeds being infected by a fungus (*Ustilago sp.*) which in artificial culture produced cyanogenetic glucosides responsible for causing the itching sensation on the throat of the horses. For control it is necessary to separate these seeds of the weed by passing through an appropriate sieve after the threshing is over.

Seeds of 'Shial Kanta' (*Argemone mexicana*) look very similar to mustard seeds and these weeds grow very often in the mustard fields. Dr. R. B. Lal of the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health held that *Argemone*-contaminated mustard oil was responsible for the outbreak of epidemic dropsy. He and his co-workers published fifteen papers in series on the subject in the Indian Journal of Medical Research from 1937 to 1942; but so far, they have not been able to isolate satisfactorily active principles from the Argemone oil similar to incriminated mustard oil producing epidemic dropsy; for instance, in Part XIV, October (1941) issue of Indian Journal of Medical Research, they remark, "Fractions obtained from Argemone oil by the process of saponification and extraction with hydrochloric acid gas have not proved toxic to man (human volunteers) although they react specifically to chemical tests and induce essential histological changes in white rats. The residue of Argemone oil left after extraction of the fraction with hydrochloric acid gas is non-toxic to man. These observations suggest that the treatments so far employed, isolate only a portion of the toxic radicle and that neither of the split products are toxic. Recombination of split products into the original toxic molecule has not been effected by the methods so far employed." On the other hand, it appears from the Annals of Biochemistry and Experimental Medicine, Vol. I, 1941, that Dr. S. N. Sarkar of the Dacca University carried out a number of feeding experiments (feeding Argemone oil) on albino rats, from which he comes to the conclusion that Argemone oil is not very toxic to the animals, that in the dose administered it has no cumulative effect at least in rats and that some samples of mustard oil free from admixture of Argemone oil respond to the differential tests (nitric acid tests) developed by Dr. Lal and his co-workers for the incriminated (Argemone-contaminated) mustard oil. So, we are not at present certain about the toxicity of this weed. Similarly, old rice was once dreaded by people owing to the spread of erroneous ideas of bacterial contamination of old rice leading to epidemic dropsy, in several (about a dozen) scientific papers published by late Major Acton and Col. R. N. Chopra in the Indian Medical Gazette from 1922 to 1935. Almost commencing with the

sensational editorial heading of "Epidemic Dropsy of Bengal—A Problem Solved" in the Indian Medical Gazette of October, 1922, they brought out papers in series since 1922 in which they claimed that the bacteria found in opaque (diseased) rice produced toxin which was responsible for the outbreak of epidemic dropsy; in 1924 the author published a paper in Lancet (May 24th) showing that these bacteria in pure cultures (gram-positive in reaction) by Acton and Chopra are mere surface-contaminators due to imperfect surface-sterilization of rice grains, that such common contaminants are found not only in opaque rice as they claim but in all opaque as well as transparent (healthy) rice grains, and that, thus, they have no possible connection with the causation of epidemic dropsy. But they persisted in their rice-theory for more than fourteen years. Major Acton died in the mean while and Col. Chopra in 1938 remarked at p. 14 of the Annual Report of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine and the Carmichael Hospital for Tropical Diseases, "Several outbreaks of epidemic dropsy in Calcutta were investigated from the point of view of opaque rice grains but in none of them was it possible definitely to associate them in the production of the disease. On the infection side further work showed that none of the gram-positive bacilli occurring in the stools of epidemic dropsy patients had any aetiological relationship to this disease." Thus, the rice-theory of epidemic dropsy was dropped. As a general rule removal of tiny seedlings of weeds prior to the setting of flowers and seeds is a common weed-control measure.

On turning next to plants containing hydrocyanic acid (HCN), attention is directed to a brief note published by Leather in Agricult. Journal of India, Vol. I, Part III, page 225, on poisonous property at times possessed by the linseed plant (*Linum usitatissimum*—'Tisi' or 'Masina'). He mentioned a case where cattle ate some immature linseed-plants as fodder with the result that fifty-two died in a few hours. A specimen of the plant sent for examination contained a cyanogenetic glucoside and yielded hydrocyanic acid when crushed in water. Cattle are sometimes poisoned by eating Sorghum (*Andropogon saccharatum*) as fodder, which belongs to the grass family. In the Coimbatore Sugar-Cane Station they have successfully crossed sugarcane plants with Sorghum and have produced a better variety of sugarcane with greater yield of sugar; Sorghum juice normally contains about 15% sugar, and sugarcane about 18%. The list of plants containing hydrocyanic or prussic acid is rather long; most of them grow as weeds in waste places and some of them have the poisonous principles stored in the seeds. *Solanum tuberosum* (potato) under certain conditions of storage has been reported to produce hydrocyanic acid with fatal result to the consumers; so too,

with almond (Badam). The deleterious effect of the weed 'Akta' (*Vicia sativa*) has already been mentioned. Some varieties of mustard oil have been reported to contain a very small amount of hydrocyanic acid; so, one should insist on having the purest brand of mustard oil in very fresh condition.

Dealing with the third type of injurious plants, the fungi causing devastation of staple crops, I may refer to the disease of potato crop in 1845 in Europe caused by a fungus *Phytophthora infestans*. While the loss of the potato crop of 1845 was everywhere a calamity, the catastrophe was most complete in Ireland. The staple food supply of an entire people was destroyed by disease unparalleled in the recorded history of mankind. Famine stalked in every Irish home. Men have always been dependent on plants for food, clothing, and in a large part for shelter. The Rev. M. J. Berkeley of England, who preached for a living and studied fungi for pleasure in an obscure corner, examined microscopically the blighted leaves of potato and proclaimed in 1846 his confirmation of the discovery of Montagne and of Morreau (the French Mycologists), that a fungus was at the root of the evil. The potato blight was successfully combated with the help of Bordeaux mixture-spray. We have the destructive disease of our cereals—wheat, oat, barley, etc.—caused by the rust and smut fungi. Smut fungus (*Ustilago*) is also noticed on paddy in Bengal. Wheat rust (*Puccinia graminis*) in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces is responsible for severe economic loss each year. A young German student-instructor, the celebrated Anton de Bary in the University Laboratory of Tübingen, published in 1853 at the age of twenty-two a classic contribution on the rust and smut fungi; he for the first time brought forth convincing evidence of the causal nature of the spores of these fungi in producing these diseases. It becomes impossible to save the lives of plants if a fungus-disease has a good grip. All fungus diseases, as is well known, are highly infectious. Higher fungi (Polypores, etc.) cause devastation of forest-trees and fruit-trees in plantations, timbers in storage, wood-works in buildings, rail-road slippers, propellers of vessels in rivers and seas, motorcars, etc. There are several instances of these and of sudden aeroplane-crashing caused by fungus (fungus *Trametes serialis* by Baxter and Varner, 1942) to the 'Sitka Spruce' used in its construction. Space will only permit to cite two instances. The magnificent wood-work of the Palace of Versailles (Paris) and its costly oak beams have been permanently and irrevocably damaged by a fungus growth—a *Fomes* (*Fomes cryptarum* ?); no recent scientific remedies can save the situation—they tried X-rays with no better result, the X-rays damage the

wood and the fungus at the same time. A Polypore (*Poria undata*) has invaded a dark railway tunnel in the city of Prague (known as Weinburger tunnel), the tunnel is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long, the fungus is growing very luxuriantly in the slippers and wooden vaults all over, any amount of scraping from the upper surface and of spraying with strong antiseptics cannot affect the hyphae which have penetrated inside the wood, the mortar and the crevices of the walls and the vaults, and a fragment left over is enough to spread rapidly all over the areas in the congenial moist air and darkness of the long tunnel. My friend, Dr. Albert Pilat, the leading mycologist of Prague, was called for advice, he came back disappointed, though greatly astonished ; his advice was to discard the tunnel and shift the railway line, no other remedy seemed possible.

One should not carry the impression that fungi are only agents of destruction ; some of them are of great service to mankind in the production of the precious medicines—' Ergot ' and ' Penicillin,' of great industrial use in the production of taka diastase, citric acid, alcohol, in ' Aguru ' production ; and as edible mushrooms, they are delicate articles of food, much prized by mycophagists.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL CREDIT IN INDIAN WAR ECONOMY

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IF the ultimate object of war economy is to mobilise the available resources of a country and direct them to the production of goods and services essential for the successful prosecution of the war, the methods used in financing its war industries must engage our serious attention. They constitute an important factor in the country's problem of internal war finance as distinct from that of external war finance. Any defect in the financial methods employed would impair the war effort and increase the war bill. It is essential, therefore, that the country, particularly one engaged in a total war, must see that finance does not prove a bottleneck in its industrial war effort.

In relation to the war effort three classes of industries may be distinguished: (1) the war industries proper whose extension is of urgent importance, (2) the other essential industries whose important task is to maintain output as efficiently as possible, although they have to work with inferior labour and materials, and (3) the non-essential industries. The last group of industries, no doubt, serve to contribute to the war effort generally but it is with the problems of the first two groups that we shall be principally concerned. It shall be our endeavour to shed some light on the special problems that relate to the financing of such industries, noticing in particular how they have been sought to be resolved in some of the major belligerent countries. Against the background of such a study, the position in India in this respect may suitably be examined and lessons, if any, may be drawn from the experience of these foreign countries.

The problem of industrial credit in a war economy, as a recent writer has pointed out,¹ may be split up into two parts: (1) the financing of new plants or extensions and of their equipment necessitated by the rapid and extensive change-over, in output and organisation, to war requirements; and (2) the provision of additional working capital needed by firms whose wage bill and work in progress have increased several fold

¹ Roy, A. Foulke in *Credit Problems in a War Economy*. Dun and Bradstreet. N. Y., 1942. Quoted by *The Economist*, May 23, 1942, p. 714.

with the defence programmes getting into fuller stride. The position relating to the working capital of war industries grows steadily more difficult as the extensions of fixed capital which, in many instances, are provided by the government, lead to an increase in industrial turnover and therefore to a greater need of the former.¹

A peculiar characteristic of war industry is that it represents risks which do not encourage private investors to put their capital in it. Most of it is made up of enterprises which are under the complete ownership of the government as, for instance, the ordnance factories. In the case of the rest it must be realised that war orders, as Hicks has observed, are not necessarily advantageous to firms. "They entail new and difficult processes and over-working established staff and existing equipment. They lead to no new contacts and they offer no long period reward for the greatly increased effort."² The switchover from a peace-time basis to a war-time basis is not at all easy. The sudden conversion involves far-reaching extensions and adjustments of plant and equipment whose postwar utility and value would be highly questionable. In such circumstances it is no wonder that private capital would be extremely hesitant to undertake the financing of typical war industries. Even if private capital were responsive, it would hardly have been able to cope with the ever-increasing demand of war industries expanding on a stupendous scale. The normal machinery of the capital market inevitably breaks down under the pressure of this heavy demand. As a matter of fact, the normal machinery through which the long-term capital market functions in ordinary times is often put out of commission in war time. In England the Defence Regulations have banned all new issues of capital, whether for long- or short-term, in excess of £10,000 without the previous sanction of the Capital Issues Advisory Committee. In India too, the control over private investment has recently been tightened. Under a new D. I. Rule (No. 94) flotation of new companies and schemes of reconstruction and recapitalisation of existing companies have to be approved henceforward by the Finance Department of the Government of India. For the duration of the war, the normal new issue mechanism, as it has been aptly remarked, is thus put into the cold storage.² Even if the access to the new issue market were not barred in this way, the problem would have hardly been less acute. For the whole situation is complicated by the emergence of small firms in the sphere of the countries' industrial war effort. Their size, record and slenderness of resources

¹ J. R. Hicks, etc., *The Taxation of War Wealth*, 2nd Edition, p. 109.

² *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, September 19, 1942.

would not have admitted them in any case to the facilities of the ordinary capital market. Superadded to all this, are the problems arising in the case of some enterprises from such causes as growing shortages of critical materials, introduction of rationing and even evacuation, if necessary, from a danger zone to one of comparative safety.)

The peculiar difficulties inherent in the financing of war industries which have been analysed above clearly indicate that private resources and facilities extended by the banking system cannot go a long way towards satisfying their needs of short and long term capital. The war indeed poses a set of formidable problems for the banking system and its policy in relation to the war industries has to be very carefully formulated. (On the one hand, most of the financial requirements involve long term investment and are clearly outside the scope of normal commercial banking. Some of the demands for working capital too would be in normal times ineligible for banking accommodation. But on the other hand, the banking system is expected to play its due part in the national emergency and to tune its policy so as to expedite and maximise the industrial war effort.) The control of the long term capital market has not found its echo in the case of most countries in a control of the short term credit furnished by the banks. There are, indeed, obvious objections to bringing the banks within the ambit of statutory control by means of Defence Regulations. The end may be achieved, only if the banks are inclined to follow certain general precepts in framing their credit policies. They may, for instance, give special consideration to requests for financial assistance from enterprises engaged on Government work or in essential activities. They may refuse demands for advances from trades producing luxury or other non-essential goods. They may even recall, if necessary and whenever possible, their loans and advances used for such purposes. They may also relax their ordinary standards of credit worthiness in respect of their clients engaged in essential war work. But the demand for credit on the part of this specialised sector of the banks' clientele is likely to be so enormous that it will be wellnigh impossible for the banking system to cope with it.) In the earlier stages of the defence programme when the banks are under-invested and a considerable slack has to be taken up, there may be no difficulty. But a bottleneck is likely to be reached very soon. All these factors make the direct intrusion of the government inevitable in the sphere of both long and short term investment. Thus in England and U. S. A., not to speak of Germany, the State has become by far the largest source of long term capital for war industries and in the field of short term credit it is rivalling in its activities, as a banker, the whole of the commercial banking system.

At this stage a review of the methods employed elsewhere to finance the war industries may prove to be both interesting and instructive. The study will help us not only to appreciate what has already been achieved elsewhere in this direction but also to realise the defects and shortcomings, if any, of our own financial methods.

In Great Britain, it has been recognised from the outset that the government should fill an important rôle in the war-time financing of industries. The machinery for Government financing of the long term capital requirements of war industry was organised at the very beginning and has been perfected from year to year. In the case of industries called upon to extend or otherwise adapt themselves to the war requirements by installations of new plant and machinery, the Ministry of Supply, the Ministry of Aircraft Production and the Admiralty have always been prepared either to provide the necessary finances for such extensions and adjustments or to build the factories and supply the machineries themselves. The procedure has generally been for the Department in question to retain the ownership and charge rent to the operating firms, calculating it as an element in determining the cost of the goods produced for the Department. In many cases the cost of financing such capital extensions is jointly shared by the Ministry and the business firm. In others an option is granted to the latter to acquire the new installations after the war. Thus the arrangement for government financing of fixed capital development in the cases of war industries has been quite flexible and has in fact assumed various forms¹.

The machinery for financing the short-term needs of industry, however, took time to be developed. The banking system was functioning unfettered by the Defence Regulations. In the circumstances the authorities had felt in the beginning of the war, that if the banking system were provided with an ample cash basis, it would be able to fulfil its functions adequately. The credit policies of the government had been framed accordingly in the earlier stages. There was, therefore, no direct intrusion of the state into this sphere at first. But it was soon realized that the private financing of such industries, needs of working capital was beset with the same difficulties as were to be faced in the financing of their long-term capital requirements. There were also inordinate delays in making payments to the contractors by the Government Departments in respect of the goods delivered by them. The firms thus deprived of their payments for long periods and faced at the same time with the task of expanding their production had to turn inevitably to the banking

¹ *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, September 19, 1942.

system for assistance. But their requests for assistance were either beyond the resources of the banks or were not justified by the amount of the collateral offered.)

(An informal approach was made by the authorities to the bankers requesting them to shape their policies in a manner particularly beneficial to war production. They were asked to give preference in the matter of loans and advances to industries engaged in essential war effort, to discourage credit facilities to luxury trades and even to recall such facilities, whenever possible, in favour of the more urgent war industries.¹ The banks readily responded and in many cases began to extend their accommodation to war industries against the mere knowledge that the borrowing firms were engaged on Government work. In the mean time the system of issuing after physical examination "progress certificates" to Government contractors by the Inspectorate of the Supply Departments was developed and bank finance for war production came to be largely provided against these certificates. A co-ordinating machinery was soon set up between the banks and the Supply Departments. There was an exchange of "liaison officers" which proved a valuable medium not only for the passing on of useful information but also of complaints relating to insufficiency of working capital. The system provided a check on the efficiency of production as well as a security for bank loans.² But the machinery was not quite perfect in that it left out of its scope the whole range of sub-contracting work. The main channel through which working capital now steadily flows to the war industries is the system of "progress payments." Under this system the Ministry concerned undertakes to pay in monthly instalments 90% of the expenses incurred by the war contractor provided he gives a certified assurance that he is duly meeting all charges for raw materials as well as sub-contracting work.³ Thus finance filters down from the Government through the contractors to the lowest sub-contractors. The Government in effect becomes the banker and the rôle of the ordinary banks in financing the short-term credit needs of war industry becomes necessarily limited. The task of the banks has now been restricted to help the firms to tide over the period intervening between the payment of one instalment and another. The part which the Government in great Britain is playing today in financing the vast volume of the country's war production can not be fully appreciated unless a reference is also made to the provision

¹ *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, May 18, 1940.

² *The Banker*, March, 1942 ("The Finance of Supply").

³ *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, September 19, 1942.

of working capital on "real terms," apart from that in terms of money. Just as the Departments have been providing fixed capital in the form of factory building, plant and machinery, so they have developed the practice of making "free" issues of materials and components to the firms working for them. The progressive decline in the London clearing bank advances from £991 millions in 1939 to £796 millions in 1942 (July) may be ascribed, to a considerable extent, to the direct financing of war production by the various Government Departments.¹

The same trends appear to be at work in the United States, only in a marked degree: the state is steadily but increasingly intervening in the long- and short-term financing of war industry. Nowhere has the transition of industry from peace to war been on such a stupendous scale; and nowhere has there been felt a greater need for direct government assistance in financing this conversion. (The principal channels through which such assistance has flowed are the Emergency Plant Facilities Contract and the Defence Plant Corporation. Under the former the Government undertakes to reimburse the private industrialist for the expenditure he has incurred in respect of emergency plant construction. The repayment by monthly instalments of such expenditure including the cost of borrowed money is to be spread over five years. This undertaking by the Government to repay the cost in five years brings the operations within the purview of normal commercial banking, although ordinarily they would be regarded as long term investments. The manufacturer can approach his banker and on the strength of this document obtain the necessary finances. Somewhat similar to the British arrangement there is a provision in the contract giving an option to the firm to purchase the emergency plant "at a fair cost value" when the repayment has been completed; otherwise the title in it will pass to the Federal Government.) Some of the largest emergency plants including Ford's River Rouge Plant have been financed under these terms.² (The Defence Plant Corporation, a subsidiary of the R. F. C., is the more important of the two channels through which the U. S. Government is making available its financial aid for war industry. It has become the most important unit in the construction of emergency plants. The Corporation has the power not only to build, purchase and lease plant and equipment but also, if the President thinks it necessary, "to engage in the manufacture of arms, ammunition and implements of war." The plants and equipment erected by the corporation have been leased out to manufacturers on a five-year basis.

¹ *The Statist*, August 29, 1942 ("Bank Advances and Industry").

² *The Economist*, May 23, 1942, p. 714.

Here also an option has been given to the manufacturers to acquire the plant after the emergency period on the basis of cost price less depreciation.)

Government participation in the matter of providing short term credit ^{Si} has been no less important. The difficulties in this respect of small firms ^t engaged in war production have been sought to be removed by the Assignment of the Claims Act, 1940, and by a system of advance payments on government contracts resembling somewhat the scheme of "progress payments" instituted by the British Ministry of Supply. ✓ Advance payments on Army and Navy contracts are also made up to 30% of the total expenditure foreseen under these contracts. A system of "partial or progress" payments has also been organised. On the completion of each stage of construction to the satisfaction of government inspectors, some percentages of the total value of the work in progress are often paid out to manufacturers. If the needs of working capital of firms working on Defence orders cannot be met from their own sources or from the sources already mentioned, arrangements have been made to enable them to approach direct the R. F. C. or the Federal Reserve Bank of the district.¹⁾

The President's Executive Order No. 9112 of March 26, 1942, envisaged a far-reaching programme for war-time financing of industries. The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System adopted on the 10th April, 1942 Regulation V entitled "War Financing" to carry out the executive order with a view to facilitate and expedite the financing of war production. The Regulation (prescribed arrangements for the financing of contractors, sub-contractors and all other businesses, large and small, engaged in operations deemed by the armed services and the Maritime Commission necessary for the prosecution of the war. The utilisation of the facilities not only of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks and their twenty-four branches but also those of the entire banking system is contemplated in this financing scheme. In order that war production may be expanded and expedited, the three military procurement agencies (the War Dept., the Navy Dept. and the W. S. Maritime Commission) have been authorised to guarantee Federal Reserve Banks, the R.F.C., the commercial banks and other financial institutions against loss on loans made to concerns for financing the performance of war orders. The Federal Reserve Banks themselves have further been authorised to arrange loans and guarantees thereof whenever they would be regarded as contributing towards the expeditious maximisation of war production.) The War Department would place a liaison officer at each Federal Reserve

¹ *The Economist*, May 23, 1942 ("Financing War Industry").

Bank. It would be his duty to certify to the Bank that an applicant for financial aid was qualified, from the technical or production point of view, to carry out a contract or order for war supplies or equipment. The applicant was expected to place his case, first, before his bank or other financing institutions. The bank would apply to the Reserve Bank for a guarantee of a part or whole of the proposed financing, only when the necessary credit could not be arranged without the help of the War Department. On the certification by the liaison officer, the Reserve Bank would analyse the financial aspects of the application, probe the integrity of the management and determine the type of financing best suited to meet the situation.¹

By an Act of June 19, 1934, the Federal Reserve Banks had already been authorised to furnish loans direct to established industrial concerns for working capital purposes under certain conditions.² The amount lent had hitherto proved very inadequate. In order that the Reserve Banks may participate more fully in the programme of war financing contemplated by the President's Executive order, the Board of Governors revived on April 30, 1942, its Regulation regarding Reserve Bank loans to industry under Sec. 13(b) of the F. R. Act. The blanket authority given under the original Act to all Reserve Banks to grant financial accommodation directly on their own responsibility without reference to Washington has been continued under the revision, while a number of changes of a clarifying character have also been introduced.³ It may be mentioned in this connection that the commercial banking system in the U. S. A. has played an important part in financing the gigantic war production of the country. Although in line with the general war-time banking trends elsewhere, the member banks' loans registered an appreciable decline in the first half of 1942, a growing proportion of the total loans went to finance war production. It has been estimated that in the spring of 1942 for the country as a whole 31.9%, nearly one-third, of all loans and renewals were directly to finance war activities while in some districts the proportion of loans for war purposes rose as high as 40% or even 50% of the total.⁴ In this part of their business the banks are reported to consider not so much the financial status of the borrowing firms as their capacity to perform their war production contracts.⁵

¹ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, May, 1942, pp. 424-27.

² See the present writer's article : "Recent Developments in Central Banking." *The Calcutta Review*, June, 1940, p. 251.

³ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, May, 1942, pp. 428-30.

⁴ *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September, 1942, pp. 888-89.

⁵ *World Economic Survey* (League of Nations), 1941-42, p. 125.

When the Government has entered into the field of industrial war finance to this extent in Great Britain and the United States, it is no wonder that the intrusion of the state in the sphere will be hardly less important in a country like Germany. Various types of emergency credits have been made available for industrial enterprises affected by war conditions. A special kind of credit instrument in the form of 2/3 months' promissory notes of the Army has been provided to firms obliged to finance a rapid and extensive conversion for adapting their output and organisation to the requirements of the war. The notes though ineligible for rediscount can be used for bank advances. The war time requirements of long term capital are met from loans obtainable from the state-controlled Industrial Bank (*Deutsche Industrie Bank*) which guarantees the bills in question and makes them rediscountable and hence acceptable to ordinary banks. A public company, the *Luftfahrtkontor*, has been specially entrusted with the task of financing the air craft industry. Another company, the "Oeffa," which is state-owned, is responsible for the financing of public works. Like the Industrial Bank it undertakes to endorse the bills and guarantee 95% of their value which makes them rediscountable.¹ Indeed German industry in war-time has come to depend so much on direct advances from Government Departments rather than on banking assistance, that the importance of the German commercial banks as a source of industrial credit has considerably declined.² It has been estimated that the total of advance payments to industry on government contracts amounted to 6,000 million RM. or more, at the middle of June, 1942, which brings into clear relief the restricted field of activity of private banking. Owing to the loss of their normal profitable fields of activity the banks were compelled not only to carry out extensive programmes of rationalisation but also to explore new and more convenient avenues.³

In the case of Japan the conversion problem was not so acute for she had already been at war for more than two years when the hostilities began in Europe. By the Capital Control Law of 1938 the granting of loans by Japanese banks had been closely regulated in the interests of the war industries.⁴ Under an Imperial Ordinance promulgated in April, 1939, the Minister of Finance was authorised to instruct the Industrial Bank of Japan, after consulting with the Capital Accommodation Committee, to make capital accommodation or subscribe to and underwrite or

¹ *Money and Banking* (League of Nations), 1939-40, Vol. I, p. 40.

² *The Statist*, July 4, 1942 (War-time Banking in Germany), p. 492.

³ *The Statist*, International Banking Section, November 28, 1942, pp. 7-9.

⁴ *World Economic Survey*, 1939-41 (League of Nations), p. 106.

Miscellany

DR. B. K. SARKER

ETATISME IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF CHINA

An almost invariable feature in all planning schemes—both for backwards and go-aheads—is the state initiative, state finance and state administration in the national economy. China is an example. Towards the beginning of 1941 there were 1,354 factories in the fifteen new industrial bases, *i.e.*, in South-west and North-west China (under the Chungking administration). A factory was an industrial concern operated with a minimum employment of 30 workingmen. The additional test of a factory was the employment of power. These 1,354 factories are listed below:

1. Mechanical	312	4. Chemical	361
2. Mining & Metallurgical	93	5. Textile	282
3. Electrical	47	6. Miscellaneous	259

The finance for all these concerns belongs almost entirely to the state, as has been gathered from a conversation with Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul General for China at Calcutta.

Previous to 1937, *i.e.*, the outbreak of Japan-China hostilities, industrialization was virtually concentrated in the Eastern districts and coastal cities. The war has led to the geographical re-making of industrial China. The rôle of *Geopolitik* in *arthik unnati* (economic progress) is manifest. New regions have emerged as the centres of modern technocracy and industrialism.

Some figures are available about the output of the factories under direct control of the Chungking Government. The values may be indicated as follows (in million dollars):

1. Coal	114	6. Antimony	10	12. Chemical	1,438
2. Iron and Steel	127	7. Tin	160	13. Textile	1,763
3. Gold	280	8. Mercury	5	14. Food	39
4. Copper	1,2	9. Other metals	2,5	15. Power	99
5. Tungsten	65	10. Machine	67	16. Miscellaneous	342
		11. Electrical	181		
				Total	4,693

It is obvious that the main industries are a concern of the state. *Etatisme* is the chief force in the industrialization of China. The supply, demand, marketing and prices of commodities have been placed under Government control in regard to iron, steel, copper, cement, coal, cotton yarn and cotton piece-goods. This, of course, is war-communism as practised everywhere during World-War II as during World-War I (p. 133).

ECONOMIC TURKEY

No less prominent is *étatisme* in the economic life of new Turkey since 1923. In 1932 the *Banque Agricole*, a Government institution, furnished the agricultural co-operative societies with loans to the tune of 6,617,000 Turkish pounds. In 1935 the loans rose to £T. 8,146,000. The total loans received by cultivators within or outside co-operative societies rose from 1923 to 1935 in the manner indicated in the following table as given by O. Conker and E. Witmeur

in *Redressement économique et Industrialisation de la Nouvelle Turquie* (Paris, 1937, pp. 127-128):

Year	Turkish £ (in '000)	Year	Turkish £ (in '000)
—	—	—	—
1923	8,077	1931	34,634
1925	19,976	1933	34,229
1927	20,375	1934	32,895
1929	27,176	1935	31,931

The rate of interest at which loans are received by cultivators is 9%. The significance of the loans granted by the state in Turkey can be appreciated nowhere better than in India, where the Government is proud of not helping co-operatives with loans.

As for industries an Act was passed in 1927 with the object of promoting them. It was supplemented and enlarged in 1933 when the first five-year plan was introduced. By 1937 something above 600 large, medium and small factories and workshops were newly established by companies and individuals on the strength of the privileges and concessions accorded by the state on account of this Act.

The *Banque de l'Industrie et des Mines*, a state institution, was established in 1925. Among other things it took charge of four state factories (1 for shoes and 3 for cloth) operating at a capital of £T. 5,511,000. Sixteen other establishments (for sugar, tanning, electricity, copper, ceramics, etc.) were furnished with part of their capital by this credit institution.

Along with the inauguration of the five-year plan the Sümer Bank was established by the Government with a capital of £T. 20 millions, which rose to £T. 62 millions in 1934. The functions of the Sümer Bank are, among other things, first, to administer the state industries and secondly, to project the industries to be started with state capital. By 1937, as we understand from the publication by Conker and Witmeur (*loc. cit.*, pp. 187-190), the industrial finance furnished by this Bank amounted to £T. 58,061,000. The categories of the concerns were as follows:

Industries	Capital Turkish £
1. State factories placed under the direct charge of the Sümer Bank	... 12,458,000
2. Concerns in which the Sümer Bank participates financially	... 2,693,000
3. Industries created or to be created by the Sümer Bank	... 42,910,000
Total	... 58,061,000

Funds necessary for the carrying out of these projects were every year placed at the disposal of the Sümer Bank out of the general budget of the Turkish republic. In 1937 the Turkish £ was nearly equivalent to Rs. 2.

Turkey like China is still an economico-technocratically under-developed and backward region. The *étatistic* foundation of planification in both these economies is conspicuous.

Round the World

Changes in Government

Since we last went to the press there have been changes in the headship of the Government of India and in that of the Government of Bengal. Lord Linlithgow who had been the Governor-General of India since 1936 and had several extensions to his credit at last left the Indian shores in October last. Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture and part author of the Government of India Act, 1935, he had at the time of appointment more knowledge of Indian problems and more experience of Indian affairs than any former Viceroy except Lord Lawrence who had been a member of the Indian Civil Service and Lord Willingdon who had been the Governor of two Presidencies before elevation to the Viceroyalty. But strangely no Governor-General showed greater unimaginativeness in dealing with the Indian people and greater lack of constructive ability and statesmanship in dealing with Indian problems than Lord Linlithgow. There is not one single field in which his name will be associated with any reform in the right direction. There had been before him dictatorial and reactionary Viceroys like Lord Curzon but the latter at least left the impress of his personality upon many administrative reforms. There had been again great idlers in the office of the Governor-General like the late Lord Willingdon but he at least made himself personally agreeable to many Indian publicists who came in contact with him. But the noble Marquess who has just left after seven and a half years of Viceroyalty is not known either to have made many friends in this country or to have improved the Indian administration in any single particular. We are told that he was indefatigable in his work at the files. If this testimony is true, it must be admitted that hard work was no compensation for lack of constructive ability. His first acquaintance with this country was through agriculture and it was no wonder on this account that he would inaugurate his Viceroyalty with a cattle show. But nothing is more tragic than this that inspite of this enthusiasm for Indian agriculture there has not only been no improvement in this field during his tenure of office but what is more the last phase of his residence in India was marked by terrible food shortage in the whole country and a famine of unprecedented scale in one of its great provinces. He was again, it may be repeated, the part author of the constitutional reforms of 1935, and interested in the inauguration of the Indian federation. But not only no federation could be set up during his long Viceroyalty but he conducted the governmental policy in such a manner and made statements encouraging the minorities in such a way as to make difficult, if not impossible, for his successors to achieve the ideal. Even provincial autonomy which was first introduced in 1937 had to be suspended in some of the important provinces two years later. The country fell, bound hand and foot, into the hands of an inefficient and unimaginative bureaucracy. Many of its faults of omission and commission might have been rectified if it was headed by an administrator of more than average ability. But if Lord Linlithgow did not possess the ingredients of true statesmanship, he did not also possess the necessary ingredients of administrative ability. In fact, his only specific for the ills of government was the importation of experts from Britain. Whenever any problem would arise for solution, he would postpone decision till a highly paid Britisher would be imported from somewhere in his country. The latter on arrival would, for a short or long period, put up a show of studying the problem and finding a solution and then with his pile made would leave for his country. The problem, however, would remain as unsolved as it had been

before. The importation of foreign experts was in fact a sort of original sin with his Viceroyalty. He came burdened with a Secretary who appeared to think that he alone and none else could save this country. People who start work in the spirit of deliverers may very well end in making himself in more than one sense undesirable. It is good from this point of view that the long Viceroyalty has at last ended. Its first lesson is for His Majesty's Government to keep in mind. It warns it against the type of persons who should on no account be appointed to high office in India. The second lesson is for the present Viceroy to keep in mind. He should do exactly the opposite of what his predecessor did in respect of matters of moment.

Sir John Herbert

Sir John Herbert who had been the Governor of the unlucky province of Bengal from 1939 until recently resigned his office also in October last on the ground of serious illness. While we sympathise with him in his suffering from a malignant disease, we should not on this account lose sight of the disastrous results which attended his governorship in more fields than one. It is necessary that a sifting enquiry should be made by an impartial and authoritative body both in respect of his relations with his Ministers and political parties and in respect of his share of responsibility for the food policy of the Government of Bengal and the disastrous famine in which it culminated. Grave charges of constitutional impropriety have been levelled against him. If the Constitution has any sanctity in the eyes of His Majesty's Government, it is its elementary duty to institute an impartial enquiry into the charges brought against the former Governor. In respect of the civil supplies again the former Premier observed more than once that the Ministers were not consulted when appointments to the Department were made, when money for the purchase of food grains was advanced and when lines of action were decided upon. In view of these observations the Governor's personal responsibility in regard to many items of policy may be taken by lay men to be established. As the famine which has been acclaimed in all circles as man-made is the culmination of governmental policy, it is but wise to set up a Commission to enquire into the matter. It will at least show whether such a vital matter of administration was bungled either by the Ministers or by the Governor or by the civil servants or by all together. There is in fact no reason why the Commission asked for should be withheld.

The Future Form of Government in India

At a meeting of the East Indian Association in London Mr. L. S. Amery and Professor Reginald Coupland spoke on the future of Indian constitutional government. If Reuter merely informed us that these two gentlemen had spoken on this subject on some platform, we could have rightly guessed as to what they had exactly said on the occasion. It was not necessary on this account for Reuter to cable and the Indian newspapers to publish half a column of matter in this regard. The space usurped by this rehashed nonsense might better have been occupied by other items of news which are now-a-days crowded out.

Mr. Amery as usual dilates upon his theory borrowed from Mr. Jinnah that parliamentary government of the British type is unsuited to India. The main problem, however, is not constitutional. It is emphatically political. The problem is whether Britain will part with her power in this country. Once she does it, it will be for the Indian people to decide upon the system of government under which they will live. It is certainly expected that they will know their own interests best and will devise the constitutional machinery under which these interests will be best subserved. Mr. Amery has his own reputation as a British

diehard and what he says with regard to the parliamentary government in India may not be taken in any impartial circle as the final disposal of the question. It may be on the other hand regarded as only a subterfuge for his refusal to part with power.

Professor Coupland has taught colonial history for years to Oxford undergraduates. He is, however, only partially an academic man. His interest in Conservative politics has been of long duration. He has besides a personal friendship for Mr. Amery whom he regards as one of the best of men and clear-headed of statesmen. A professor who cherishes such sentiments for Mr. Amery may be expected to write and speak on India only to strengthen his friend's opinions and policy in popular estimation. When, therefore, he says echoing his friend as his friend echoes the League leader in India that parliamentary Government is unsuited to Indian conditions, we need not take this as the opinion of an expert, arrived at after an impartial examination of facts. It may really be taken as a point of view propounded only to bolster up the political policy of his friend at the India Office.

Professor Coupland appears to think that the Swiss form of executive may be a better and more effective substitute for the parliamentary executive which finds Indian conditions so uncongenial for proper development. The learned professor, however, seems to forget that the system which suits a small neutralised country without jarring elements and chances of great party conflicts may not suit at all a vast country with a huge population of diverse elements and groups. The specific which Mr. Coupland suggests for the governmental ills in India may in fact only aggravate them. Parliamentary government has been experimented on a limited basis for the last twenty years. Nor can it be said that it has become as great a failure as Messrs. Amery and Coupland may advertise it to be. In fact during the first two years of provincial autonomy British Governors of Indian provinces and many British publicists as well sang pæans of praise to responsible government as it was being worked in this country. It was only after the outbreak of the present War when the British Government thought it right to placate the Muslim League that we heard of the failure of the parliamentary system in Indian provinces. We for ourselves are not impressed either by the pæans of praise or by the chorus of condemnation. Parliamentary system has its defects and none will deny that those defects appeared in unsavoury garb on occasions in the provinces of this country. But it should be said that as this system has been worked, though on a very limited basis, for the last two decades and as we have been acquainted during this period as much with its defects as with its merits and strong points, it will be foolhardy to replace it by another system which has not been tried at all by Indians and which even theoretically has grave defects.

Professor Coupland has also in his address given the *fatwa* in respect of the claims of the Muslim League for separate nationhood. From the summary cabled to this country by Reuter it is not exactly clear as to what Mr. Coupland intends to say on this point. But he appears to think that there are two alternative ways of meeting the demand of the Muslim League. The separate nationhood of the Muslims may be accepted by the Hindus and the two nations may then form a federation. Naturally the central organ of this federation will then be constituted on the fifty-fifty basis. The Muslims, less than one-fourth in population strength, will have to be given the same representation in the legislature and the executive as the rest of the people who command more than three-fourths of population strength. If such a demand is not acceptable to the Hindus, there is then the only alternative, in the opinion of the Oxford Professor, of India being divided into Hindusthan and Pakisthan Zones. When the two nations-theory was first propounded and the Pakisthan cry was raised, we asked ourselves if demand for equal representation in the federal legislature and executive was not the motive behind this move. That many of the British

publicists at least are taking an appreciative view of the Pakistan issue on this ground has been clear. During the early thirties it was taken for granted in many British circles that the thirty-three per cent Muslim representation from British India and thirty-three per cent representation in the Federal Assembly from the States would both severally and jointly be an effective counterpoise to general representation from the provinces. Evidently this arrangement is not being thought as safe as it was regarded to be ten years ago. It might not be possible to count on the nomination principle being perpetuated in the States. If the delegates from these areas have to be elected by the people they may strengthen, instead of being a counterpoise to, the general representation from the provinces. Effective steps must therefore be taken to guard against the results of such a combination. The Pakistan demand has become in this regard an effective instrument.

The Year of Presidential Election

1944 is the year of presidential election in the U.S.A. It is true that neither of the two great Parties will select its candidate before June or July and the campaigns will not start in earnest before then. But not only the Parties will prepare the ground for the reception of their nominees from now on but the aspiring candidates for Party nomination also will on their own do a good deal of spade work in different parts of the Republic. In fact such work has already begun.

It is not possible to say six months before the selection of Party candidates as to who will actually be chosen by the Republican and Democratic organisations to contest the Presidency. But it is possible to discuss the chances of several candidates who are or are likely to be in the field. President Roosevelt has already broken the tradition of one hundred and fifty years by allowing himself to be elected for the third time to the White House. His prestige is still immense both in the country and in his Party. But it is no longer what it was at one time. Circumstances have changed. In 1940 when Roosevelt was chosen as the Democratic candidate for the third time, France had already fallen and danger of invasion was staring England in the face. The Democrats naturally thought that at that crisis an experienced mariner should be at the helm of the ship of the State. Four months later when the election was actually held, the blitz against England had continued for two months and the fate of the country was hanging in the balance. The country naturally agreed by a majority in these circumstances with the choice made by the Democratic Party Convention. But even at that time when the last barrier against Nazi flood was reeling under concentrated bombing, the people were divided in their mind. A large portion of the electorate voted for Willkie. The situation has since then altered considerably for the better and during the next few months it is likely to alter further still. The enemy has been caught at the throat and his elimination is only a matter of time. The danger which was thickening in 1940 has now been largely dissipated. The panic which seized the populace has disappeared. In view of this it seems unlikely that either the Democratic Party Convention or the electorate will agree to do further violence to constitutional convention by choosing President Roosevelt for the White House for the fourth time. The Democratic Party, of course, may think that if it is to gain the election, Roosevelt alone can achieve it. He will have no doubt the handicap of being the candidate for the fourth time. But he will also have the great prestige of having seen the U.S.A. successfully through the War. But will the country fall in line? We think not.

As for other possible candidates on the Democratic side, the first and foremost will certainly be the present Vice-President Henry Wallace. As

Secretary for Agriculture he attained not only popularity but also a reputation as an administrator of vigour and ability. For the last three years he has been the Vice-President. In this capacity he presides over the deliberations of the Senate but has no administrative duties under the Constitution. Roosevelt, however, used to call him to his Cabinet meetings and requisition his assistance for the discharge of some important administrative functions. But sometime ago he had a violent quarrel with a colleague and the way the dispute was set at rest by the authority of the President did not reflect much credit upon the Vice-President. It must have undermined his chances of Democratic nomination to a great extent. It should be also known that it is unusual in the United States for a Vice-President to obtain Presidential nomination or to secure the Presidency even when the nomination has been available. Vice-Presidents have no doubt become Presidents but usually only because of the death of the President in harness. The Vice-Presidency is as a rule regarded as reward for services which are not of the highest order. It may in fact be said that Wallace has reached the highest rung within his reach in the official ladder. For him to aspire to higher honours may be only to court disappointment.

Herbert Lehman who had been the Democratic Governor of the Empire State and who is now employed in the Federal Government as officer in charge of the relief organisation for occupied territories may be another possible candidate. He has the advantage of being the citizen of a large state, the advantage which Wallace lacks. But this advantage seems to be neutralised by the fact that the voters there swung to the Republican side during the last gubernatorial election. Besides, if he is wise, as he is reputed to be, he may not agree to contest the next election when Democratic Party may not be in favour because of its remaining in office for the last twelve years. He may in his new capacity acquire greater popularity and reputation. Then when the Republicans will use up their popular appeal, he may come out for election to the Presidency, say in 1948.

On the Republican side the man who is foremost in the public eye is certainly Wendell Willkie of Pennsylvania. He was the candidate of the Party on the last occasion and although he was defeated, his candidature was not really unwelcome to the people, a very large portion of whom gave him support. Since that election he has gained considerably in stature as a man and as a statesman. But correspondingly he has lost the advantages of a candidate. His whirlwind tour round the World (except India), his appreciation of the interests of the underdog, his keen insight into things Russian and his firm stand against imperialism have gained for him great popularity in many circles but they have also made him bitterly unpopular among vested interests. With opinion so divided against him, he may be a liability as a candidate to the Republican Party. The Republicans have seldom been rash in the selection of their candidates for the Presidency. They have always chosen only the safest men against whom there might not be any animus in any large group of the electorate. It is true that this emphasis has not unoften resulted in the choice of only colourless men like Harding and Coolidge. But all the same safety first has been their motto.

If Willkie is not selected, the next candidate is likely to be Governor Dewey of New York State. As District Attorney he showed energy, vigour and ability and made himself a terror to Tammany and to corruption. He had his reward in the last gubernatorial election in his State. While the Democrats quarrelled and wrangled, he was elected on the Republican ticket. If he is chosen, as he is likely to be, his accession to the White House is more than probable. With the resources of the biggest state at his disposal, he will not find it difficult to ride to victory on the crest of the wave of Republican popularity which is now so noticeable throughout the Union.

Italian Monarchy

Before these lines are in print, the future of Victor Emmanuel III and possibly of the Italian monarchy will be decided. In the last century Italian unity and liberation were achieved under the leadership of the House of Savoy. This gave it a prestige which the blunders of King Humbert could not altogether dissipate and which made it possible to overcome the demands of the Republicans for its abolition in the last century. But the part which Victor Emmanuel played in the Fascist revolution in 1922 and the Fascist administration since then has made him personally odious to all Italian liberals and what it is more it has undermined all the prestige upon which the monarchy as an institution could bank.

When Mussolini fell and Badoglio formed the Government, the King remained as the head of the State. In fact, his services at that time were regarded as valuable. Possibly on that account, inspite of protests from far and near, Victor Emmanuel did not cease to be the ruler. But Badoglio has found it impossible on this account to persuade notable liberals to come into his Government and add their personal prestige to it. One such man is Count Sforza who had at one time been the Foreign Minister of Italy and who as a refugee in the United States had formed an Italian freedom front. He is now in Italian soil. His views are, however, reported to be rather republican and he is willing to be included in the Government only on the understanding that Victor Emmanuel keeps out. Dr. Benedetto Croce, another liberal savant, also cherishes definite anti-monarchical views. So it seems very likely that the King who has been on the Italian throne for more than forty years will now be required to abdicate. But whether his abdication will imply the abolition of the monarchy, it is not yet clear. The Crown Prince was reported for years to be on bad terms with Mussolini and the Ciano family. It may not be impossible for the present King to abdicate in his favour. But later reports show that the latter is also regarded as undesirable.

Calcutta Corporation and the Government

At the time of going to the press a battle royal is going on between the Calcutta Corporation and the Government of Bengal over the appointment of Dr. B. N. Dey. It was in February last that the Corporation submitted its resolution reappointing him as Chief Engineer for approval by the Provincial Government. The latter has the statutory right of approving or rejecting such an appointment under the Calcutta Municipal Act. But the Government did not take any action as to the appointment for months. It merely sat tight upon the resolution. But sometime before the Pujas, it informed the Corporation that the appointment of Dr. Dey as Chief Engineer could not be approved on the ground that during his tenure of office there had been mismanagement in the engineering affairs of the Corporation. It should, however, be mentioned in this connection that the responsibility for the management of these affairs attaches equally to the Chief Executive Officer whose appointment was approved with slight modification. The Corporation thought this action on the part of the Government as rather unreasonable and accordingly in a fresh resolution it stuck to its old decision as to the reappointment of Dr. Dey as Chief Engineer. But immediately the Government turned down this decision and pointed out that it would not approve of his appointment in this capacity on any account. The Corporation regarded this attitude of the Provincial Government as very unfortunate and even unjust both to the Corporation and to Dr. Dey, who, in its opinion, had rendered valuable services to the city. It was not on this account willing to discontinue altogether his connection with the civic administration of Calcutta. It now appointed him Special officer to be in charge of several engineering departments. Under the Municipal Act the appointment of such an

officer does not require the approval of the Government. But the latter went out of its way to turn down this decision as well. The arguments advanced on its behalf are that the Chief Engineer of the Corporation whose appointment requires Government approval is expected as a rule to be in charge of certain departments and in consequence if a special officer is appointed to be in independent charge of some of them, his appointment will also be subject to Government approval. But the majority of the Corporation Council does not accept this point of view. It appears to be of the opinion that as the Statute does not specifically require Government approval in regard to the appointment of any special officer, the appointment of Dr. Dey in this capacity should be effective at once. The Government order that his appointment has been turned down may therefore be ignored. If the Government wants to proceed further in this connection, it may only bring proceedings against the Corporation in a court of law.

Treatment of Coloured Peoples

Mr. Harold Ickes, the United States Secretary of the Interior, referred in a speech at the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to the comparative treatment of minority racial groups in the United States and the U.S.S.R. He emphasised in his address that the form of government in a country was always to be determined by the majority of the people there according to their lead and light. It would be only foolhardy to dogmatise that this form of government alone was good and the other forms were bad. In fact he wanted it to be understood that all forms had their merits and defects. So, the United States might justifiably cling to the democratic system which it had evolved and the U.S.S.R. might maintain the one party dictatorship which it had found useful. But while there should be no attempt to impose the system of government obtaining in one country upon another, there was one problem in which it would be proper for the United States to take lessons from the U.S.S.R. In the former country the treatment meted out to the Negro elements of the population was far from satisfactory. In the latter country, all racial groups have been given as much in theory as in practice equal opportunity of development. "Our own country," observes Mr. Ickes, "resembles the U.S.S.R. in that it is composed of many races and strains. Our professional patriots do not like to have it said out loud that our treatment of our minority groups, especially that of the Negro, is wretched when compared to Russia's. Of course we do treat our minority citizens better than the Nazis and the Fascists do theirs, but we will not boast of that. The U.S.S.R. on the other hand has done a splendid job in this respect. In the U.S.S.R. there is genuine and true equality of opportunity for the noble and lasting achievements of the Russian Revolution. The U.S.S.R. offers social, economic and educational opportunities. It takes a serious view of racial or religious intolerance. Anti-Semitism, for example, is severely punished as treason to the nation. The Soviets consider an attack on any group of citizens as one against the whole nation."

High Prices in India

Pethick-Lawrence, who was the principal speaker on the Labour side in the debate in the House of Commons on the food situation in India, has been in public life for long. Trained in Cambridge as a mathematician, he turned later to the study of economics and was the originator of the principle of capital levy which became a political slogan for some time in leftist circles in Britain. Apart from some eccentricities which stood in the way of his rising to the top places in politics, he is a man of considerable ability and has some direct knowledge of Indian conditions. It was appropriate on this account that he should participate so prominently in the debate. In course of his able and restrained speech he

referred to inflation as one of the main contributory causes to the miserable situation in Bengal. We should of course regard administrative indifference and inefficiency as the root cause of the terrible muddle of which the present famine is the result. But all the same it was good that Mr. Pethick-Lawrence raised so pointedly and illustrated very aptly the case of inflation in this country. He tells us that "the general index has risen something in the nature of 300 per cent. The things the farmer wanted to buy had increased in price from 400 to 500 per cent; food grains from 500 to 700 per cent; and specific commodities as much as 900 per cent." None of these figures are exaggerated. On the contrary in many places during the last few months the rise has been far higher still. In September, 1942, the price of rice of medium quality was Rs. 4 per maund. For over six months in 1943 it was in some districts sold at Rs. 50 per maund (before it went out of the market altogether). The increase was, therefore, more about 1200 per cent. If statistics are taken commodity by commodity, it may be shown to what extent vital matters have been mismanaged in this country.

26th Anniversary of the Soviet Union

On the 7th of November last the Soviet Union celebrated the 26th anniversary of the Revolution. In this connection Comrade Stalin made a radio address to the Moscow Soviet. He was very justifiably and reasonably in a happy and optimistic mood. There have been people who acknowledged very grudgingly the fighting qualities of the Red army and who, when faced with solid victories achieved by the Russian military machine, only put them down partly to voluntary withdrawal on the part of the German army and partly to the great military traditions which had been handed down to the present generation of Russian soldiers by their forefathers. The Russians, they say, have always been good soldiers and hard fighters. They were so in Czarist days and they may be so to-day in spite of the socialist system of government which has replaced the old order of things. In other words they will not give any credit to the new regime for the excellent qualities which the Red army has evinced both when it was on the defensive and when later it took the offensive. Stalin as the builder of the Soviet Union has naturally attributed all the achievements of Soviet people in this war to the socialist economy under which they have lived and worked during the last twenty-six years. This does not of course mean that wherever this system is allowed to replace the old system it will be as successful as it has become in the Soviet Union. Parliamentary Government gave England for centuries the best administration possible in that country and provided her people with opportunities for development which were lacking elsewhere. The United States of America has grown to the present height of economic development and strength only by the exercise of private initiative and enterprise. But parliamentary government did not succeed to that degree and private initiative did not prove beneficial to that extent in such countries as Italy. In fact human materials count a good deal. Their temperament and traditions are also not the same everywhere. Their genius may not be brought out in the same manner and in the same way. But whatever that may be, in the Soviet Union socialist economy, in spite of its defects in important particulars, has brought out of the people the best they are capable of and Stalin is justifiably proud of this achievement.

Distress Land

High mortality is not the only result of the great famine which is now raging in Bengal. Many people are now being constrained to part with all their property to keep somehow their families alive. Many of them have been compelled to sell all their utensils and other household articles for a few rupees with which they might purchase foodstuffs. Many have sold the tin-sheds which they

had reared in better days. Those who had acquired small plots of land upon which they would grow portion of their annual food requirements had to part with them during the last few months. In fact the office of every Sub-Registrar in the mufassil has registered during these months more than one hundred and fifty sale deeds every day. Those who have large plots of agricultural land have in these days of inordinately high prices made enormous profits and a portion of them they are investing in the purchase of new lands from the needy. So those who are rich are becoming richer and those who are poor are being reduced to abject poverty. The present situation is in fact creating a social revolution of an unprecedented scale. If its bad effects are to be mitigated it is essential that the Legislature should intervene as soon as things settle down to some extent. After a due enquiry it should pass an Act under which the return of the lands, now being parted with, to their former owners should be made possible on equitable conditions. We welcome in this regard the recent speech of the Hon'ble Sir Azizul Huque.

Moscow Conference

The three-power Conference envisaged in August was held in the last week of October in Moscow. The principal delegates of Great Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. were their Foreign Secretaries. They were assisted no doubt both by diplomatic and military staff but essentially it was a Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three United Nations. Whether this Conference should be regarded as a mere stepping stone to a meeting of the heads of the three Governments, it is not exactly clear. It has been foreshadowed in many quarters that before the year is out, Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin will come together for an interchange of views and for the formulation of allied policy. If this news is correct, the last Moscow Conference may be taken only as a piece of spade-work, and its decisions should be treated only as tentative. Even then the decisions are in some particulars rather important.

The work before the Conference was two-fold, military and political. In regard to the first, the Conference, with the help of military experts which were at its disposal, was to chalk out lines of action by which the war against Germany might be shortened and brought to a successful end in the near future. What plans have been formulated by the Conference in this regard, we are not expected to know. They are naturally secret. But the world public has been assured that some positive decisions have been arrived at in this regard. As for the political work of the Conference it should be stated that it too was two-fold in character. A portion of it was connected with the aims of the United Nations before and immediately after the end of the war, and in this connection the Conference reiterated the old decision that the three powers would continue the war until the common enemy surrendered unconditionally. After such surrender they would see to it that Germany is not only disarmed but that this disarmed condition is continued under allied supervision. The Conference has also decided to set up an allied advisory body in London to deal with the Italian affairs. In other words as a result of the Conference the Italian question is not to be decided only by Great Britain and the U.S.A. but also by the U.S.S.R. and the French Committee of National Liberation.

In respect of long-term political relations the Conference of the Foreign Secretaries decided that there should be an international organisation after the war to keep the peace of the world. Since the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 and in fact since 1938 a group of people has preached the necessity of setting up a world federal state, the government of which is to be responsible for maintaining law and order among nations. The protagonists of this federal union movement and the advocates of a super-state will draw little consolation from the decision of the Moscow Conference, which has given no quarters to such speculations and fancies. Its resolution in this regard is "That they

recognise the necessity of establishing, at the earliest practicable date, a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign quality of all peace-loving States and open to membership of all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." In other words the States participating in this international organisation will maintain their sovereignty in tact. The organisation will be really a league of sovereign States as the League of Nations has been. Whether it will prove in crucial moments as innocuous as the League proved, it is yet too early to say. But we need not be surprised if the new League becomes as ineffective as the old one, set up under the Versailles Treaty. But in view of the emphasis which has been consistently placed in the U.S.A. upon the maintenance of that country's sovereignty and in view also of the preponderance of nationalistic thought both in Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. no arrangement, more effective, would have been feasible.

As for the future of the territories which Germany either annexed to herself or came to control otherwise, the Conference has taken a definite decision only with regard to Austria, whose independence must be restored. Austria by herself is not an economic unit and cannot thrive without the close co-operation of neighbouring territories. But in view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. has already informed the world that it is unwilling to tolerate any federal grouping of powers near its borders, Austria if separated from Germany will have to stand alone. In respect of the future of the Baltic States and a large portion of Polish territories also the Soviet Union has definite views but the Conference has maintained silence about this matter. Czecho-Slovakia also is not the subject-matter of any resolution but the recent treaty which the exiled Government of that State has entered into with the Soviet Government seems to assure its independent status.

Shifting of Responsibility

Both Mr. Amery and a good section of British publicists have almost persistently tried to fasten the responsibility of the food muddle and subsequent famine in Bengal upon the shoulders of the representatives of the people here. It has been pointed out that under Provincial Autonomy set up by the Government of India Act, 1935, it is these representatives who decide the destiny of the province. Consequently the responsibility for the crisis should also be laid at their door. Some even have pointed out that the food muddle only illustrated that the Indian people, given responsibility and power, are unfit to discharge them properly. So only one moral should be drawn and this is that in the future further devolution of power and authority should not be made. That this line of argument is absolutely disingenuous need not be brought home to the Indian readers. Unfortunately the British press and platform have the ears of the world while the Indian point of view has hardly an opportunity of reaching in war-time the centres of public opinion in other countries. People there are apt to be misled by the observations of the Secretary of State for India and his still more enthusiastic supporters. The former pointed out some time ago that the British Indian provinces had the same status and enjoyed the same powers and authority within the frame-work of the Indian constitution as the American States under the federal constitution of the United States and the Australian States under the Commonwealth of Australia Act. That this observation is a far cry from the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, no person knows better than Mr. Amery himself. The special responsibilities of the Governor, the peculiar position of the All-India Services with their special rights, privileges and duties and the old and new powers conferred upon the Central Government *vis-a-vis* the provinces make the Ministers and the legislature only junior partners in the administration of the province. The Governor and the Services really constitute the major and the predominant

factor of provincial administration and it should be known that the Governor in the discharge of his duties is responsible to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State. It is on this account a very cruel joke to impute the responsibility of the breakdown of food administration to the representatives of the people, while the powers are in all essential matters exercised and enjoyed by the representatives and agents of the British Government. There have been many kinds of propaganda against the interests of Indian nationalism and against the demands for self-rule in this country. But possibly no observation has been more dishonest than the one that the outbreak of famine in Bengal is a conclusive argument against further devolution of political power upon the Indian people.

Mr. Jinnah and Pakistan

The food crisis in Bengal illustrated very aptly and brought it out very prominently that the provinces of British India are not by themselves self-sufficient economic units. It is India as a whole which can alone be such a unit. In view of this the dangers of dividing India into different independent political spheres have been emphasised in important circles. Apart from economic factors there are other valid and cogent reasons also against the vivisection of India. But for the time being the famine conditions in a province which the Pakistanists would like to separate from the rest of the country have given emphasis to economic grounds. Mr. Jinnah has, however, been prompt in rebuking those who have been impressed by this argument. He has not of course made any effort to rebut the economic argument against Pakistan by the citation of facts and figures in his favour. He in fact never feels confident in the field of details. In his address at the Moslem League meeting at Delhi, he only emphasised that Indian unity meant Indian slavery and Indian division meant Indian freedom. The Britishers, he observed, wanted to maintain the Central Government for perpetuating Indian dependence and he wanted to divide India in order that its different parts might enjoy freedom. The appeal of Mr. Jinnah appears no longer to be directed to the British Government which he suspects to be in favour of maintaining some form of Indian unity. It is directed now to the lovers of Indian freedom. But while it may be true that some of the Britishers might be enthusiastic about maintaining Indian unity without being in the least enthusiastic about Indian freedom, it is not clear how Indian division will by itself bring Indian freedom. One does not automatically follow from the other. On the contrary it is not difficult to see that Indian division may, apart from doing other injuries, only perpetuate Indian slavery.

In this connection it may be pertinent to refer to a statement which Mr. Jinnah made on Pakistan to foreign press correspondents on the 24th September last. He observed therein, "We must now form two great Indian States, the Muslim State of the North with a population of eighty million and the Hindu State of the South with a population of two hundred and fifty million." As usual Mr. Jinnah did not provide further details as to his scheme of division. At least they have not been reported. By his bald assertion as to the Muslim State of the North and the Hindu State of the South, we are only further confounded. Mr. Jinnah, it may be repeated, has never agreed to formulate any concrete scheme as to his demand. Pakistan may therefore mean anything and the Indian division may take any form. The latest idea of Mr. Jinnah appears, however, to be that Northern India would be one unit and Southern India another. But there are far more people in Northern India than eighty million to whom he refers. But it is useless to make an attempt to understand and appreciate his idea when it has been perhaps wilfully kept vague so that people might guess according to their predilection and so that in the nick of time any demand may be made without contradicting oneself.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Substance of Politics.—By A. Appadorai, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Indian Branch of the Oxford University Press. Pp. 522. Price Rs. 5.

Dr. Appadorai, author of "Dyarchy in Practice" published by Longmans, who has also written "Revision of Democracy" and "Democracy in India" published by the Oxford University Press, is a believer in and a champion of democracy. The aim of the present publication is to provide a text book on politics for students of the graduate classes in our Universities. This has necessitated the treatment of different types of Government against which background he has given his views on the political organisation of India as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935.

After giving his readers a general idea of political theory in the first part of his book, the author deals with political organisation dividing the second part into three sections the first of which deals with the history of Government starting with the Greek city-state and ending with the constitutions of different states as they emerged after the last war. The second book of the second part is devoted to an examination of the constitutions of Great Britain, the French Republic down to the fall of France, the United States of America, such self-governing Dominions as Canada, Australia and South Africa, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, the U. S. S. R. and India. In the third book, Dr. Appadorai has given his conclusions on the organisation of Government basing them on the materials incorporated in the earlier sections of the book.

The division of the contents of the book in the above way may appear somewhat mechanical but it is obviously due to the desire of the writer to present a lucid exposition of his subject to ordinary readers and specially to those just commencing their studies in this department of knowledge. Compelled to include a large amount of material within strictly limited space, Dr. Appadorai has succeeded in presenting what he has to say in such a manner as to leave a clear-cut picture in the mind of his readers. In order to make the best possible use of the space at his disposal, he has, when discussing the various subjects with which he has dealt, been constrained to give the conflicting views of authorities, very often in their own words.

The usefulness of the book has been increased by a carefully compiled index and a bibliography at the end of each chapter.

Some account, however inadequate, of ancient Indian and Chinese political organisations, knowledge of which is not perhaps required from University students, would probably have been welcome to the general reader. Admirable as a text book, Dr. Appadorai's book is equally useful for the general reader desirous of familiarising himself with the evolution of political organisations.

There appear to be two factual mistakes, due no doubt to oversight, in the book. The first which appears in the first footnote on page 408 is concerned with the number of seats in the Bengal Legislative Council assigned to Indian Christians. The second which appears on page 438 is concerned with the distribution of powers as between the Centre and the Units in Canada.

India in a New World Order.—By Radha Krishna Khanna. Published by the Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. viii + 304. Price Rs. 5.

The author, obviously one having deep and sincere convictions about the ultimate injurious effects of the industrial system, makes a strong appeal to

Indians at what he considers a crisis in their history to fling back behind them the temptation of depending on the large scale development of indigenous industries as a satisfactory means for the removal of our chronic poverty. He draws pointed attention to the unemployment consequent on the adoption of machinery and finds its solution in a reversion to the age-old system of agriculture and handicrafts.

The section devoted to agriculture and the discussion as regards the limits within which only industrialisation is useful are notable contributions and deserve careful study by those who hold views different from those advocated by the author. Mercilessly logical, the arguments of Mr. Khanna are bound to make such people think twice about the soundness of their opinions.

The reviewer regards this as one of the best written and most convincing books on Gandhian economics. Well got-up and printed on good paper and in one large type, the publishers deserve credit for their craftsmanship.

H. C. Mookerjee

Hindu Na Muslim (in Bengali).—By Sushil Kumar Basu. Published by Samabay Publishers, Calcutta. Pp. 206. Price Rs. 2-8.

A country's welfare cannot be secured by communalism yet one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that some just demands lie behind the communalist point of view and also that minority communities are apprehensive that their legitimate claims might be ignored unless they are pressed on the attention of the majority.

The author refers to the view first expressed by the Congress that communal disunion is the greatest barrier to our political independence. He concedes that the Congress has done much towards the establishment of communal harmony but points out that these efforts have not so far met with any conspicuous success.

Mr. Basu analyses the causes of communalism and in that connection refers to the comparative economic and educational superiority of the Hindu and relates separatist tendencies to Muslim jealousy. He also points out that the political idealism of Mahatma Gandhi, at least during the non-co-operation days, was tinged by the Hindu outlook and which, like the honest man he is, he never concealed. It was then that he had proclaimed himself a Sanatanist, a believer in the Hindu scriptures, in idol worship and in cow protection. This Hindu tinge in his politics may have raised Muslim apprehensions as to what was in store for it if Hindu predominance became an accomplished fact.

After detailed consideration of the various circumstances which explain the misunderstanding between the two communities, the author suggests certain measures for solving this problem. He maintains that the Pakistan scheme will fall through as soon as it is placed before the Muslim masses for their approval. It would be wise to acknowledge the right of the Muslims to look after their interests which this scheme envisages. If the Congress gives its support to Pakistan, it would imply that the legitimate demands of the Muslims are thereby recognised. Communal harmony may also be established by teaching the Hindu and Muslim masses that their economic interests are identical and that they have to stand together in the face of fascist aggression.

Mr. Basu has evidently taken great pains to collect his material and to substantiate his position. His views prove his openness of mind and a sincere desire to reach a permanent and satisfactory understanding with our Muslim brethren. An English version of the book would be useful for placing the ideas of the author before non-Bengali India.

H. C. Mookerjee

History of Education in India during the British Period.—By Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik. Published by Macmillan & Co. Price Rs. 6-12.

This is an admirable book—indeed, it is difficult to think of any other on the same subject which is better or even as good. It covers a wide tract, education in India from the beginning of the nineteenth century to 1937, from the primary to the University stage. But, at the same time, it deals with the chief aspects of education in some detail and on the basis of a considerable body of evidence. It is always clear and readable. What is best of all, a great mass of information has been well-digested and well-presented. The book is no mere tumbled heap of facts and figures, it is a structure with a definite plan and every stone in its place. The authors have attempted, moreover, with a large measure of success, to understand the problems, to assess the evidence and to form their own opinions. The sections on the Anglicist-Classicist controversy, for instance, are refreshingly impartial and unprejudiced. On the controversial points in the history of education in India the views of the authors are seldom superficial and seldom intemperate. The long quotations from reports and official papers add to its value for the student, though the general reader may find them tedious.

Any historian of education in India must depend—as these do—largely on official reports which attempt to summarise the progress of a period or the condition of a stage of education. But perhaps it is those who compile them who best realise that, while the facts and figures are usually reliable, the analysis is not often penetrating and the synthesis seldom illuminating. And over nearly all official documents there hangs the veil of impersonality. The historians and the critics of Indian education have both too often failed to look behind statistics at the human elements, to neglect which is to reduce education to the dull level of instruction. There is perhaps no greater weakness in the present Indian educational system than its lack of perception of spiritual values. This, of course, has little necessary relation to what is called religious education. But that insight can come only to the teacher who is “called” to his work, only to the historian who sees in institutions the boys and girls who compose them. We shall never get far unless we constantly ask ourselves the question, what change is this making to the individual? In every country there must be general rules which define the framework of educational effort; in fortunate lands, within that framework there is room for much freedom and elasticity. And whenever education has been built on the real foundations of personality, the vital impulses have often come from a few whose mental independence has been directed by their moral vision. It is not a matter for surprise, nor is it a good omen, that in India educational systems have been so rigid, experiments so few and the creative names not more than one or two.

K.

Rabindranath Tagore on Rural Reconstruction.—By Dr. Sudhir Sen, Ph.D. Published by Visva-Bharati, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

Free thinking and individual liberty form the background of Tagore's philosophy. Rabindranath Tagore had no politics so to say; he had mission in his life. And his life's mission was to rhythmise the dance of life, abjure wrongs and identify wealth with welfare in this acquisitive order of society. That forms the kernel of his social philosophy. With Tagore, “life is a continual process of synthesis” and “growth is the movement of a whole towards a yet fuller wholeness.” Tagore has all along carried on a crusade against the “problems of maladjustment, whirlpools of noise, dirt and ugliness of social insanitation, of fragmentary toil that kills the rhythm of body and mind.” He has been shocked at “the reckless wastage of humanity” in villages and has tried to fulfill his mission “to restore the full circulation of life's blood into those maltreated limbs of society; to bring to the villages health and knowledge,

wealth of space in which to live; to enjoy respect which will give them dignity sympathy which will make them realise their kinship with the world of men.' The reviewer regrets to find that Dr. Sudhir Sen in his book does not seek to unfold the main springs of Tagore's philosophy of rural reconstruction, nor does he evaluate Tagore's ideas in the perspective of world thought. Tagore has his own systematised thinking on land, labour and capital which form the raw material of village reconstruction, but Dr. Sen omits them from his survey. Tagore's anti-state attitude, search for synthesis, rhythm of reciprocity and mutuality in human relations and efforts—all this is hardly discussed with reference to political theories. The book is a formal description of Tagore's ideas or certain aspects of rural reconstruction culled from his various writings: there is eloquent absence of close analysis and critical estimate of the essential principles of Tagore's philosophy of rural reconstruction. The book thus loses its appeal to students of political science.

The brochure is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the statement of Tagore's central thoughts on rural reconstruction; the second part describes practical experiments in the field. In the second part Dr. Sen shows intimate acquaintance with the various experiments at Silaidah, Patisar and Sriniketan. These constructive efforts, briefly and lucidly described, are indicative of Tagore's social training and creative personality. The achievements may not be dazzling, but they are vivified with his transparent idealism and social consciousness which recognise harmony and completeness in humanity. Tagore was moved to make the villages smile; he has left this task to his posterity. The present vulgar age sneers; it does not know how to smile. Tagore's philosophy smudges the face of vulgarity and makes us alive to our social functions; it calls for a specialised study.

SACHIN SEN

The Veerashaiva Weltanschauung.—By Shri Kumarasvamiiji, B.A.

The publisher in his note to the booklet says, the writer is "an accomplished orator, a scholar and a saint" and the occasion which called for the present exposition of Veerashaiva Philosophy by the writer was a public address he was called upon to deliver at Adyar under the auspices of the 16th Indian Philosophical Congress held in Madras in December, 1940. The address made such a deep impression that savants opined that it deserved to be preserved in print. The publisher was accordingly persuaded to bring it out in the form of a booklet.

The writer holds that the great merit of Veerashaiva Philosophy consists in the positive ideal of world-affirmation which it proclaimed in place of the negative ideal of world denial which was preached by traditional Indian Philosophy. "The Sharana," says the writer, "comes into effect a synthesis between Bergson and Bradley, between conservatism and dynamism." "The static aspect of the Absolute" according to it, is "*Sthala, Shiva* or *Linga*," while in its dynamic aspect it is "*Kala, Shakti* or *Jangama*." "This Shakti is the dynamic divine will which is the personality of the Absolute-truth or Shiva-Linga." "The Shakti works, not Shiva-Linga," "for Shiva is the hidden darkness of the eternal God-head which is the end of all things." Shiva is Supra-cosmic transcendence while Shakti is cosmic infinity. "The one is infinite silence, the other immanent sublimity." The two are reconciled in the fact that "cosmic infinity is the appearance of the supra-cosmic reality" which transcends it. "Cosmic infinity is in fact the concentration of transcendence" and as such is more seeming than real. "It is only relatively real." Shiva while transcending this immanent sublimity which is Shakti is yet "fullness without content," "completeness without growth," "freedom without resistance." And Shakti or Will moves in the sphere of this luminous silence—"an outflow from the supreme, a divine movement of the Eternal and an immanence inherent in the Infinity." "It is this integral

Ourselves

[I. *Compartmental System of Examination.*—II. *Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.*—III. *Lila Prize and Lecturership.*—IV. *Bagiswari Professor of Indian Art Honoured in Gujarat.*—V. *Sir Gooroodas Banerjee Centenary.*—VI. *Asutosh Museum Notes.*]

I. COMPARTMENTAL SYSTEM OF EXAMINATION

The University has adopted changes in the Regulations by way of introducing the Compartmental System in the I.A., I.Sc., B.A., B.Sc., and B.Com. Examinations. In case a candidate is unsuccessful in any of these examinations in one subject but obtains 40 p.c. of marks in aggregate in other subjects, he may appear for re-examination only in that subject either at the next annual examination or at a special supplementary examination, if held six months before that. It should be clearly understood that such a candidate can appear in the one subject in which he has been unsuccessful only once (either at the special supplementary examination or at the next annual examination). If the candidate obtains pass marks in the re-examination, he will be declared successful in the examination as a whole. In case the candidate fails to avail both the special supplementary examination and the next annual examination, he will not get the benefit of the Compartmental System. Before appearing at the supplementary examination or the next annual examination the candidate is required to submit a certificate either from the Principal of his college or from a member of the Senate testifying to his good character. A candidate for re-examination in a Science subject will have to produce a certificate from the Principal of a college that he has taken a course of practical training in that subject for a period of at least three months previous to his examination.

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II. CANDIDATES FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

So far only those persons who had obtained the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University with First or Second Class could become candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. But recently the University changed the Regulations to make it possible for those who have passed the M.A. examination in the Third Class.

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III. LILA PRIZE AND LECTURERSHIP

Mr. R. N. Tagore made a gift of Rs. 7,500 in 3½ p.c. G. P. Notes for the purpose of creating a prize and a Lecturership after the name of his daughter, Lila. The prize will be awarded and the Lecturer will be appointed in alternative years. The University has accepted the gift with thanks. The Lecturer will be required to deliver a course of three lectures on Bengali Literature and the prize will be awarded to a lady writer for the best contribution in the same subject.

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IV. BAGISWARI PROFESSOR OF INDIAN ART HONOURED IN GUJARAT

On the occasion of Professor O. C. Ganguli's visit to Western India during the last Puja vacation, an address and a silver vase were presented to him on October 10, at Ahmedabad. The address was signed on behalf of the people of Gujarat by Sir Chinabhai Madhavlal, Bart. Printed in the Gujrati language, it referred to the signal services rendered by the Professor to the cause of Indian Art. The ceremony was attended by the elite of Ahmedabad society. Mr. R. S. Rawal and other members of the *Bharat Kala Mandal* were particularly in the audience. A public reception was also given to the Professor at Dwaraka (Kathiawad) on October 17. It was presided over by His Highness the Raja of Morvi and was attended by distinguished people of Dwaraka, Mithapur and Port Okha.

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V. SIR GOORODAS BANERJEE CENTENARY

The University has fixed 26th January, 1944, for the centenary celebration of the birth day of Sir Gooroodas Banerjee. It has also decided in this connection that the day will be observed as a holiday in the University, its affiliated colleges and recognised schools.

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VI. ASUTOSH MUSEUM NOTES

Preservation of books and manuscripts is a problem now-a-days. Many scientific devices have been adopted to meet it. One of the recent additions to the scientific treatment is the "Fumigation Chamber Process." The method is a good one no doubt but is too costly. Many institutions in a poor country like India cannot afford to take advantage

of this process, neither it is easy for an individual to work with this method for his private use.

Mr. M. N. Basu, M.Sc., who is in charge of the Asutosh Museum Laboratory, has prepared an indigenous preservative to protect books and manuscripts from atmospheric actions and insects like bookworms, lice, silverfish, whiteants, etc. He is still carrying on investigations with it and the results are so far successful. The ingredients of this preservative are Orris root (*bach*), Cloves (*labanga*), blackpepper (*golmorich*) and Cinnamon (*daruchini*). These are to be powdered separately in a mortar and after mixing put in a small cloth bag which is to be placed on the shelf or box where books, etc., are kept. All these ingredients are easily available in this country and any one can easily prepare the powder at a nominal cost.